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VOLUME CXV

July 1902.

> man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of
> g by those who, not contended with stale receipts, are able to manage
> forth new positions to the world; and, were they but as the dust
> ders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish
> ighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not
> to be cast away.—MILTON.

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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 229—JULY 1902.

ART. I.—THE KAMA MYSTERY: A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE DRAMATICS.

IT is the constant complaint of historians of the stage that it is impossible to hand down to future generations the accents and gestures of great actors and actresses, and that the impression they made on their audience cannot, for subsequent students, be made sufficiently permanent to serve as means of comparing their skill with that of their dramatic heirs. This is, of course, true to a certain extent of the art of oratory, though in some cases, as in that of written orations that were never actually delivered, the gain may be somewhat on the side of the reader.

It is not enough to reconstruct the stage of any given former period and reproduce old methods and antiquated costumes. The effect of a stage play on its audience does not so much depend on the relation that the play (as represented) bears to dramatic art in general, as on its relation to the dramatic standard of the hearers. The general spread of antiquarian knowledge may, in the present day, help to save a play, in revival, for the "historical truth" of dresses and scenery; when it was unpityingly damned by the audience for which it was originally written, an audience, which, less skilled in history or actually living in the period delineated, had a counterbalancing increase in the faculty of dramatic criticism. In short, if we are to institute intelligent comparisons, we must reproduce the audience that saw a given play in olden days and examine the play and the acting through the coloured medium of its effect on that audience.

The study of the drama has not, in England, reached such a pitch of perfection that we can afford to neglect the theory now advanced. We have in England occasional opportunities of seeing dramatic revivals which produce on their audiences results that can be somewhat minutely differentiated.

There are the Shakespeare Society's revivals, the Westminster Latin Play, the Bradfield Greek Plays and the Cambridge Greek Plays.

Without being in any way invidious, it must be admitted, that the difference in the effect of these plays varies far more by reason of the difference between the dramatic mental level of the play and the dramatic mental level of the hearers, than by reason of the difference in the intrinsic excellency of individual plays. Had the writer any skill in the mathematics, this proposition might be set out as a mathematical formula; as it is, let us pass on to the examination of it in its somewhat cumbrous form, as above given.

The Shakespeare Society's revivals are distinguished by an entirely admirable truth to detail in their archaic staging and mounting, yet, if we leave aside the plays of Shakespeare, the plays of the Elizabethan dramatists, as produced by the Society, make a deep impression because the audience has, in process of time, become like in spirit and temper to the audiences that heard them in the days of the Virgin Queen. And this likeness, without ingratitude be it spoken, is not the result of fidelity in reproductions of Elizabethan staging and mounting, but of the mighty times in which we live, and of the wonderful Renaissance that the last twenty years have seen :—

> "Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
> "Come silent, flooding in."

It may be noticed, in passing, what charms a play within a play has possessed for authors and audiences of the Elizabethan and subsequent ages. Whether we are watching "The Taming of the Shrew" by the side of Christopher Sly, or chuckling over prentice Ralph turned player, or waiting for the effect of the Players' Scene on the guilty King, we experience a peculiar pleasure in this double illusion. To bring a final illustration; what superb use has Rostand made of this device in his splendid "heroic comedy," the crowning glory of the drama of the nineteenth century. One might almost hope that after this poet no one will venture, in serious drama, to introduce a "Players' Scene." It can never be anything but a comparative success, since the production of this final and perfect illustration of its possibilities. The pleasure that this and less notable instances give to us consists in the added reality of the principal play, before the characters in which this subsidiary play is performed. The suggestion of reality thus conveyed is more subtle but more powerful than that produced by the "real water" and "live horses" of spectacular drama, the modern successor to last-century pantomime.

To return to our main theme. The Westminster Play, being performed before a specialised audience in a language which most of them have known, or know, pretty accurately, doubtless produces its effect as a play rather than as a dramatic curiosity. The *locale* of the Bradfield Greek Plays is such, as to bring a profound influence to bear on such of the audience as can follow the dialogue; while at Cambridge equal accuracy in reproduction has to make up for the absence of such peculiarly favourable local conditions. The acceptance that a Greek Tragedy will find, with an audience that can understand it, is due to the eternal, primal passions that move its characters and make them live again even in

"the prose of Bohn."

It is the simplicity and directness of the motives that make the tragic heroines and heroes live again "in the dust of that dim prose;" as Mr. Lang writes of the translation of Homer. When the dramatist leaves this clear atmosphere for more complicated or more homely themes, the difference between the audiences of that and of the present day comes up again and disturbs our calculation of the effect of the play as first produced. The party spirit of his day would affect the reception of Aristophanes' "Frogs" or "Clouds" just as much as the party spirit of Addison's time affected the reception of his "Cato."

It would be possible to amplify this subject, but the Ober Ammergau Passion Play will afford us what further illustration is needed before we approach the Kama Mystery, the subject of our final consideration. A little thought will shew us that the effect of this play, even apart from its subject, must be different for the peasant audience, to whom it is their natural drama, and for the audience of visitors to whom it is merely a single form of dramatic representation.

The Kama Mystery Play, as the writer saw it in a little village on the banks of the sweetly-named Amravati River, was at once a mystery or miracle play; a mime; a tragedy, that strangely recalled the Greek choral tragedies, and a satyric drama. These various ingredients gave it a quaint nebulous character, the play now crystallising into mere drama and again dissolving into a religious rite. Just as an understanding of the Greek mythology is necessary for the full grasping of the meaning of a Greek Tragedy, so it is necessary to portray the legend which is the basis of this mystery, all the more as the characters are Hindu gods.

Kama, then, is the Hindu Cupid, not a tiny child like the Roman god of love, but more like Eros. Who has not read in "The Palace of Art" of the picture, where

"Over hills, with peaky tops engrail'd,
'Mid fields of corn and rice,
The throne of Indian Cama slowly sailed,
A summer fann'd with spice,"

and has not wondered what part the god of love plays in Hindu mythology? He has beautiful attributes. His bow ~~is of~~ the sugar-cane ; his arrows are tipped with flowers, and his bowstring is a chain of bees ; a pretty touch, that recalls the swallow song of the Homeric bowstring. For all that, the genius of the country has modified the local idea of Eros. He has long ago found his Psyche : in point of fact, this Hindu Eros is a married man. His wife, Rathi, is the other speaking character, and she certainly displays a beautiful eloquence, not unfitting her position. Moreover, like every married man, Kama has a father-in-law, and here the tragedy begins to loom out of the playful surroundings of a god of love, of whatever nation or clime.

Siva, the destroyer, he of the bright blue neck, the dweller, as Kama tauntingly says, among graves and dead men's ashes ; Siva, mighty in penance, is father of Rathi. In the play itself he is not even a *muta persona* ; he does not appear at all ; what he does is only adumbrated by the action or song of the other characters. The legend strikingly illustrates the Hindu view of penance. Briefly stated, it is, that anyone who performs any penance (however absurd to occidental thought) for a sufficiently long time, acquires such a store of power and virtue, that the very gods themselves cannot stand against it. Hindu mythology affords many examples of this belief. Siva himself, in one of his incarnations, saved the whole Indian Olympus and the universe at large from a demi-god, who, by years of penance, had become highly charged, as it were, with power, like a religious electric " accumulator." The early sages and heroes of Indian story had greater facilities for the acquisition of this reserve of power, in that their lives lasted for centuries or even æons. It may be imagined that three centuries of penance increased the performer's strength to a degree not expressible in modern figures !

In this case, the gods had viewed with alarm a penance which Siva had begun and which threatened to make him master of all creation. In spite of a few grotesque attributes, the mythology lends to Siva a character at once terrific and awe-inspiring ; when his third eye was closed on one occasion, the universe was involved in darkness and the legend under discussion presents a solemn picture of the god, sitting with his rosary in sackcloth and ashes, immersed in his unending penance. Kama was deputed to break the spell. Accompanied by his nymphs he sported before the recluse, taking all shapes that could

> " shake the saintship of an Anchorite "

till this oriental St. Anthony, but too thoroughly aroused, opened his tremendous frontal eye, and with a flashing glance of rage, consumed the rash intruder on his solitude.

Such is the legend which supplies the closing scene of the profound influence to bear on such of the audience as can follow the dialogue ; while at Cambridge equal accuracy in reproduction has to make up for the absence of such peculiarly favourable local conditions. The acceptance that a Greek Tragedy will find, with an audience that can understand it, is due to the eternal, primal passions that move its characters and make them live again even in

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Such is the legend which supplies the closing scene of the life of Kama, a life that is celebrated, as March begins, with several days' rejoicing in every town and village of Southern India.

The writer had seen the heap of bricks that support the Kama pillar in a village which he visited a few months after first landing in India. As March came round he saw them in whatever village his work brought him, and the legend was impressed on his memory by a case in court in which the momentous word "Kamadakshinasivalingamedai" (or "the high place-of-the-emblem-of-Siva-who-consumed-Kama") was pronounced by the various witnesses at five-minute intervals. It was not, however, till the spring of 1900 that an opportunity presented itself for witnessing the performance of the Kama Mystery.

The time of representation was the night, the playtime for old and young in India. It has this special advantage, from a theatrical point of view, that everything in a village street takes on an adventitious beauty. The heaps of dust, the ragged huts lose their prominence, the palm trees become beautiful, and the tower of the temple grows in majesty. Everything that is ugly or incongruous seems to disappear, till the facade of a wealthy Hindu's house wears the dignity of the old Grecian palace proscenium. The rag torches give a soft strong light that adds effect to the spangled and laced robes of the actors, and leaves the auditory in semi-darkness, quite in accordance with Wagnerian stage tradition.

Kama was represented in full dress, with a towering, crocketted, gilded mitre or helmet, such as is worn by the images of all South Indian gods. He is not like the unadorned Eros of the Greeks, and he shows his Indian blood by the green which paints the upper half of his face. Kama had the bow of sugarcane, and Rathi, otherwise dressed like a wealthy Hindu bride, also bore a smaller bow of the same. This brings us to the third bow-bearer, who stood in some danger of being left out of reckoning. The buffoon or Vice must not be omitted. He figures in every Indian play, and here, besides the distinction of a girdle of massive cowbells, gracefully supporting his paunch, he showed his connection with this love drama by a small bow of sugar-cane fastened upright, by one tip, to the peak of a high dunce's cap.

The play began by Kama boastfully and at great length announcing his intention of disturbing Siva's penance. Rathi did her best to dissuade him, but every argument she could use only stirred up his pride and made him more determined on the adventure. The dialogue was sometimes sustained by the characters themselves, sometimes they sang with dreadful harshness, sometimes they but swayed to and fro, as if in a Roman *mimus*, while the best voice in the company sang their songs for them. Now and then the musicians would break into a chorus which strikingly re-called, but for the absence of dancing, the Greek tragic chorus especially in their idea of inevitable destiny and in their lamentations over the disastrous end of the undertaking. Meanwhile, the Vice played his part with more or less success, and backed up the astonishingly skilful and witty acting of the players, who provided the "comic relief." In most Tamil dramas the action of the play is now and again suspended, while one or more comedians stroll on to the stage and amuse the audience by a "*vesham*," *i.e.*, an impersonation of different well-known street characters sustained with a surprising fidelity, which is all the more remarkable and diverting that the characters represent men (and women) not only of different castes, but of different nations. Needless to say, the parts they play have little or nothing to do with the subject of the drama, but they afford great scope for delineation of character. There is not, of course, in Southern India the uniformity in dress that we notice in England of the present day. A man's trade, profession, religion and sect are expressed by his dress and ornament—or lack of both. To mention three of the different "*veshangal*" shewn on this occasion, there were a Mahrattah tattooing-woman, a north country fakir, and a man and woman of the Malsar caste, each of the parts being "dressed" to perfection and admirably sustained. The Malsars are a low caste and employed in certain parts as bearers of announcements of death (written on palm leaves) from the family of the deceased to relatives at a distance. As they hobbled about, bending over their short crooked crutch-sticks, with turbans of twisted straw and bark and girt with scanty and dirty sackcloth kilts, they would have made a mummy laugh ; and they were equally mirth-provoking, when they broke into a rough song and dance peculiar to "chucklers" when more than usually intoxicated.

There can be little doubt that the comic scenes in the old dramas have lost for us some of the amusement that they possessed for their original audiences, from the fact that we can no longer distinguish the fine shades of humour that may lie in the tie of a shoestring or a very faintly unusual intonation.

When Kama had finally declared his unalterable determination to engage in his contest with Siva, a point which was only reached after discussion almost as interminable as a dialogue in Euripides, the performers and part of the audience moved off in a procession, which slowly perambulated the town and halted for prayer before the village temple. The "stage wait" was filled up by some simple playing and singing by a few local amateurs.

This brought on the climax of the tragedy. The Kama stake, to give it an appropriate English name, was now ready. This was a slight stake or pole, a little above a man's height, planted among a few bricks, as mentioned in the early part of this study, and made inflammable by a thatching or coating of " cholum " straw bound round it. The top of this straw pillar was composed of a separate sheaf. When all was ready and the chorus had sung a strain expressive of grief at Kama's doom, a rocket, representing Siva's fiery glance, shot along a string and (with some external assistance) lighted the Kama-stake, thus closely following the procedure in an Italian church festival, which will be familiar to many people. The player who represented Kama now retired into the background, as he was supposed to be dead, and the rest, hopping and dancing, circled slowly round the fire wailing for his fate. It seemed to be a matter of special import to the audience that the stake should be completely consumed ; this was an omen of prosperity in the coming year. The funeral dance round the fire continued for a long while, and when it was but a short time to sunrise, the mummers were still beating their breasts round the smouldering ashes.

It seemed that, though some of the songs were composed for the occasion, a great part of the play was traditional and the audience knew what to expect at any given period in the performance. At one stage it was whispered that " now the giant would come in and lift up a sheep with his teeth." In a few moments he made his appearance and proved to be a highly comic monster. His arms, legs and body were tightly swathed in neatly twisted strawropes, leaving only his feet and hands bare. His head was covered by a huge canvas mask, flat on front and back, so that the actor had the appearance of having introduced his head into the empty shell of some gigantic crab. On the flat front of this mask-dial was painted a terrible giant's face with portentous tusks. Thus equipped, the giant skipped round the various charracters, to the terror of the Vice, brandishing a quarter staff and executing vigorous *moulinets*. An unwilling sheep was pushed into the ring and the Giant, after much struggling, tossed the animal bodily over his head with a dexterous fling that convinced most of the onlookers that he had really performed the feat with his teeth !

Such was the Kama Mystery, as the writer saw it in the spring of the last year of the century. Local tradition is probably not very strong in the place where it was performed, for it is possible that the village is of not more than a century's existence, but the main points in the drama date back to the earliest dawn of Aryan mythology. Even with the leaven of Western learning at work all over Southern India, it is probable that if the world sees the end of the twentieth century, the same play will be played before much the same audience at that now far off *fin de siècle*. Theatrical tradition has never so much vitality as when it is wedded to religious legends.

It was a curious experience to be sitting among such an audience. For them, every name and every allusion in the play meant a link with legends and traditions, that commanded their fullest belief. Even with the protagonist Siva left entirely out of the actual representation, their entire acquaintance with all the terrific story of his " works and days " gave them a brooding sense of his overwhelming presence and sounded the note of doom, now soft now loud, throughout every phase in the drama. It was a proof of how great an advantage an author possesses when, like Milton, he can embroider his theme with slight allusions and far off references which, he knows, will be grasped at once by the audience and will lend, as it were, a special tint to the passages which contain them. Allowing for this advantage, which, after all, is within the reach of any playright who makes historical events or religious legends his theme, it would seem that the actors of the ancient days, in India as elsewhere, depended very much more on their personal attainments for success, than on elaborate scenery or stage mounting. It may be thought that we can, in modern times, redress the lost balance, and by this wealth of scenic adornment bring the audience into the plane of the audience of more simple days. This, however, is open to some doubt. Leaving " the groundlings " out of the question, is it not certain that those who are so far advanced as to set a high " pretium affectionis " on strict historical accuracy and on beauty of staging, will have their attention distracted by this very perfection from the beauties of the dialogue and the skill of the actors? In the great spectacular dramas the audience listen to a play which would not hold their attention for half an hour, but for the beautiful scenery that is displayed in it. In fact, the part of the actors and actresses, in most scenes of such a play, consists in making the stage picture of the scenery more beautiful by having living people moving about in the landscape. These spectacles are very beautiful and effective, but they seem to have had the unfortunate effect of causing managers to drown other plays in what should only be an adjunct to the drama and not the perpetual motive for it. It is surely a greater fault for an actor to speak a line inharmoniously or with misplaced emphasis, to move clumsily or in any other way depart from the best possible representation of his rôle, than for the chape of his dagger to be incorrect in moulding, or the cut of his doublet too modern for the date of the play; while of some it might be said that their " make up " and dress is so perfectly proper to the character they represent, that when they speak they do but destroy the illusion. With the hope that what has been here recounted and the theories here put forward may be of use in determining the principles of the admirable art, the writer would close his narrative.

SYDNEY ROBERTS.

ART. II.—ACROSS THE PELOPONNESUS.

(*Continued from January 1902, No. 227.*)

V.—THE EVANGELISMOS AND TRIPOLITZA.

οὐτίνος
δοῦλοι κέκληνται φῶτος οὐδ' ὑπήκοοι.

SLEEP at the rough inn overlooking the market-place of modern Megalopolis was a little disturbed, first by harsh barking of the Megalopolitan watch-dogs, then more pleasantly by a slightly mysterious kind of dream-music. It seemed to wander forward and back along the road, was stringed and lively, and occasionally a not displeasing voice broke in. It was quaintly oriental, yet had tune. It haunted the borderlands between sleeping and waking with a vaguely soothing effect.

We rouse a little before the sun is up in time to catch a lovely radiance over the hills. But the day soon clouds over and the wind is still cold. As we have all the morning now to reach the railway, we enjoy an unusual sense of leisureliness. But there is an unexpected at hitch as to breakfast: at 7 o'clock our cook-shop is still fast closed and barred. In fact all the shops are shut and all Megalopolis seems trooping to church. So we make a virtue of necessity and follow the fashion. Led by the summoning bell we cross the green of the market-square and find the little church crowded already and still filling up. Evidently something a little out of the common is going forward. We are put into stalls against the wall at the west end of the church: there is a sort of high fall-stool in each, on which one can prop oneself as one stands. The congregation are nearly all standing and all crossing themselves vigorously:—all men, or school-children in front of us, the women crowded behind a screen at the back. The customs of the Eastern or Orthodox Church are in some respects very like those of the Western or Catholic. Every one who enters, man, woman or child, first kisses an icon, or picture, then lays a small coin—from a half-penny to a paper drachma—on a table heaped up with coarse yellow candles of many sizes. A candle of proportionate bulk is allotted to the giver—a meagre taper for the small coins, a portly length of tallow for the drachma, with considerable range of sizes between. The sacristan, a stout red-faced man in rather shabby every-day clothes, is kept busily employed without pause or stay, gathering in the pence, dealing out the candles, lighting the newly dedicated, and extinguishing the half-consumed. A vigilant supervision is exercised by the congregation over the exact discharge of these duties. Whenever the functionary himself is busied with the big candle-stick and some new-arrival places his or her contribution on the plate, one or other of the by-standers is careful to select and set apart a candle of suitable size ready to be set up in due course.

The priests dimly appearing and disappearing behind the altar-screen chant and pray; two lay readers occupy lecterns on opposite sides of the nave and read out sentences alternately. Though the Church seems full even to the point of inconvenience, a fresh stream of school-boys flows in (the swarms of school-children, boys and girls, already in front of us testify to a zeal for education in latter-day Arcadia), pushes sturdily through the crowd in the nave and somehow is eventually absorbed. Despite the keenness of the morning air the atmosphere is heated and heavy with the smell of incense. Presently a well-dressed layman enters a small pulpit and begins a spirited harangue. It is not easy to follow the modern Greeks, but here and there a resonant phrase reaches the intelligence—'resurrection,' 'freedom,' 'the nation,' 'grand awakening,' 'heroic struggle,' it flashes upon us that this must be the great national festival, the birth-day of the Greek nation in modern times, the day which commemorates the uprising against subjection to the Turk.

After the address is a collection, in the stir of which we slip out into the open air. It is indeed, we find, the Evangelismos (this being the name by which the anniversary is popularly known, since it coincides with the feast of the Annunciation), and it is for this reason that the shops were shut. Now that church-time is over they are open. In the town there is little or no excitement, only small groups of rough Arcadians from the villages lounging with an aspect of boredom at the street corners. We set off after breakfast along the high-road in search of Marmaria and the railway. It is a sound rule when journeying in an unknown land never to pass the door of a tavern, especially on a hot day; and to-day in spite of early chilliness it soon grows warm. So we halt at the first khan on the road to Tripolitza and noticing a great wooden pail in which churning is going on, we ask, and obtain a drink of milk. A casual allusion to 'Liberation-day' unexpectedly kindles the latent patriotism of our somewhat sleepy-looking host. We feel bound to pledge him and his country in his best red wine. This makes him more enthusiastic: "ενὶνα," "καλὴ πατρίδα" the toast passes round with due honours.

After a couple of hours over the plain—a broad plain here with low hills to right and left, and a close array of stern mountains barring the way ahead, we begin to look for our railway. Telegraph posts and a level track reveal it in the expected direction: we have in fact for sometime been moving parallel with it. It is a simple matter to strike the line itself by the first likely path across the fields to the right and to follow the railway-track. Then red-roofed buildings and a water-tank come into view, and a little later we find ourselves at Franco-vrysis, the station next beyond Marmaria toward Tripolitza. Marmaria we have overshot without knowing it. We left the carriage road at nineteen stades, that is about a dozen English miles from Tripolitza.

At Franco-vrysis—the name recalls the Franks again, meaning apparently the 'Franks' water-spring' (it is also very nearly where Pausanias puts the sources of the Alpheus)—we are received with great friendliness by the station-master, a smart little man, Cretan by birth. He brews us some quite excellent coffee in his snug bachelor quarters at the station. His position there is somewhat lonely, no village near, no houses even, and no company but his own and a porter's. To be sure, Tripolitza, quite metropolitan in its way, is less than a couple of hours' journey off, and a train runs through twice a day; and the carriage road we left passes within half a mile. At any rate the duties of the station-master at Franco-vrysis cannot be very arduous. Our new friend is unmarried and has fifteen years' service with the railway company. Promotion, he complains, is slow. We learn from him also that the line will be finished in a few months' time right through to Kalamata. It will then be possible to travel by train from Athens to the sea-coast on the south of the Peloponnesus, and one long day's ride will take the traveller on from Kalamata to Sparta.

As a Cretan the station-master is naturally elated at the autonomy recently won for Crete. We are privileged to see his quarters. On the wall is a brightly-coloured cartoon representing Crete as a young woman with bleeding wrists and blood-stained garments, kneeling in a little pool of gore, and supported by the three powers who have done most to rid Crete of Turkish rule. The central figure is Queen Victoria, bending compassionately over the sufferer, one hand under her right arm, the other clasping the black hair that falls over her shoulders. The Czar on the left of the picture holds her right hand; and on the other side Felix Faure (Φὼρ!) representing France, supports her left elbow. Fetters lie upon the ground along with a broken Turkish standard and an encrimsoned scimitar. One iron ring still encircles the woman's left wrist, while to the right of the picture King Omberto of Italy and the Cretan Demos are busy bursting the links of a long chain, which still fastens her foot to a great block of stone. The King of

Italy holds a sharp instrument against one of the links, and the Demos, habited as a warrior with cartridge belt slung over either shoulder, smites lusty blows with a great mallet. On the extreme left scowls Abdul Hamed, and behind him, under a triumphant arch decorated with flags and inscribed with the dates of Cretan rising from 1770 to 1897, stands Prince George with the Greek statesman Sphakianakes. Above the central figure hovers but not with the grace of the Victory of Paconios—an angel in pink déshabille bearing a trumpet, a laurel wreath, and a scarf inscribed Χαίρε Κρήτη ἐλευθέρα. This cartoon, if crude in execution, is interesting as proof of the grateful recognition by the Greeks of the services rendered (tardily it is true) to the Greek race by the European Concert of 1898, and of a specially warm feeling for England.

Our train comes well to time and takes us into Tripolitza by 4 in the afternoon. The scenery on the way is striking but rather grim. 'We wind deep into the mountains; for Tripolis is planted on a table-land hemmed in between rocky heights, north the mountain masses of Central Arcadia, the border range between Arcadia and Sparta south. In token that civilization is again claiming us, the station platform is beset by hotel touts. These we avoid and make our own way to the Plaza or central square to choose for ourselves. The 'Syntagma' (Σύνταγμα) recommended of Murray, a little way down a street to the west of the square, looks the most promising. The room we are shown to is furnished with a wash-stand and basin, and we know that we are indeed back in civilization. There is a restaurant attached to the hotel, though you must pass out into the street to get to it: an unquestionably up-to-date restaurant, spacious and set out with little tables and all due table furniture: also a buffet, coffee in French style, glass doors opening on to the street and an ornate menu-card.

We go out to see the town which is somewhat en féte. In the last days of Turkish rule, Tripolitza was the capital of the Pashalik and the seat of Government. It is still a considerable place. The Cathedral, an imposing structure, formerly a mosque, overlooks the Plaza from the east side. We meet three venerably apostolic priests who show us round with mute courtesy and are properly impressed with our ability to read the Greek scriptures. The Cathedral, though massively built, has no special architectural features or objects of interest. The Plaza is large, planted with trees and garrisoned with shoe-blacks and paper-boys, another sign manifest that we have returned to civilized society. We saunter down side streets but make no discoveries of note: only the shops and cafés are a little more pretentious than those we have lately met with.

This serves, however, to fill up the time till dinner, an event to-day of unwonted interest. That dinner at the Syntagma is consecrated in grateful memory. We cannot pretend to have endured severe privations on the way from Olympia to Franco-vrysis. Still, if we always had enough, there was little variety in our food, while the manner of preparation and serving was decidedly primitive. To-night we dine really and royally. And all for seven drachmas (less than four shillings), including an excellent bottle of Chalcidian wine! We made acquaintance with several agreeable Hellenic vintages later on in Athens, but never tasted a better than the bottle which we broached at Tripolitza in the evening of Thursday, April 6th, 1899. We heartily commend the wine of Chalcis to those that come after.

Not only was Tripolis en fête this night of our arrival, but the diversion of a mild earthquake was likewise provided for our entertainment. We had just set down to our little corner table by a window, expectant of soup, when the candelabra and crockery rattled and there was a sound of hurrying feet. Straight-way waiter, cook, boy, doorkeeper and the stout proprietor himself made a bolt for the door. We had too near an interest in dinner to be lightly moved from our places, and while we mildly wondered the incident was over. Our waiter returned and said there had been an earthquake and we felt duly grateful for the experience. This was fortunately the only interruption to an adequate and well-appreciated dinner. We went out afterwards to see the fun. A military band had been promenading the street and was now playing in the square. The open space was filled with a miscellaneous but very orderly crowd, and in front of the Cathedral a gaudy fire-balloon was in act to be released. It rose and dropped fire indiscriminately, but harmlessly over our heads. An attempt was made to get off a second and larger balloon, but something went wrong after it was lighted, and despite all efforts to set it free, instead of soaring into space it was ignominiously burnt a few feet from the ground.

This concluded the outdoor entertainment and the crowd in the square soon dwindled away. We therefore looked about for a Café. Tripolis boasts a lordly coffee-house (at the corner of the road that leads to the Syntagma), lofty, commodious and decorated in the latest style. There is even on this evening a 'Café Chantant;' four ladies who sing Italian songs and a gentleman with a violin, who is also 'director' of the company. The Café fills by degrees and is evidently a great social centre. A military officer, grey-moustachioed and keen, takes possession of a centre table and then writes despatches and issues orders: subalterns and orderlies come and go before him. We take him for at least the military commandant. Yet the task of keeping order on this night of festivity does not appear to be a difficult one. Assuredly the Greeks are a temperate and well-conducted people, though they grow good wine and it is fairly heady. When we withdraw about 10 o'clock the streets are almost deserted. Tripolitza is, and remains, quite quiet.

Art. III.—A JUDICIAL TRIAL DURING THE INDIAN MUTINIES, 1858.

A Letter of Remonstrance from the Sessions Judge of Lahór to the Judicial Commissioner of the Panjáb.

I HAVE the honour to report on the case of Talay Asuddoola, late Risaldar of the 3rd Panjáb Cavalry, as directed in your No. 2616 of the 9th current. The delay has been caused by the non-receipt of additional evidence required from the Deputy-Commissioner of Derah Ghazi Khan.

I regret that the prisoner has not been confronted with the witnesses, who give testimony against him, and that he was not tried at once, when the offence took place of which he is charged. He has been many months in prison without access to his friends, and in these respects has not had a fair trial.

He is not charged with any overt act. Major Gordon, commanding 1st Sikh Infantry, deposes on oath that in July, 1857, he was informed by a Sepoy that some Sepoys of the 3rd Cavalry (he thinks a Duffadar and Sewar) had been talking treason, and alluded to receipt of a treasonable letter by a Risaldar or other native officer of the regiment. Here we have hearsay evidence of what the deponent heard second-hand, and the prisoner's name is not mentioned.

The second charge relates to the supposed receipt of a treasonable letter by the prisoner. The existence of the letter is placed beyond doubt by the evidence of Captain Gell; but the important feature of its having been received by the prisoner is *not proved*, as admitted by the Deputy-Commissioner of Derah Ghazi Khan and Captain Gell.

But conceding the circumstantial proof of its having been received from the known fact of other letters having arrived safely, we have the known legal maxim that the receipt of a letter must not be accepted as evidence, *that the receiver concurred in the sentiments of the writer.* This principle has been strongly illustrated in the summing up of the Lord Chief Justice Campbell in the case of the Queen *versus* Bernard. Indeed, common-sense suggests the principle. I should be very sorry to have my opinions as to the proper mode of dealing with Natives in this rebellion, deduced from the sentiments expressed in the letters of my correspondents.

I make no remark on the trap laid by the Commanding Officer for the entanglement of the Risaldar by reading a intercepted letter, and reclosing it, and sending it on. In case of a similar kind in the District of Fatehpore, wher trap was laid to catch the Head Clerk, Mr. Thomas the Lieutenant-Governor denounced the proceeding. I should be sorry to hear this case quoted in the House of Commons.

At the time of the crisis many things were justified. The proceeding of the Commanding Officer in dismissing the Risaldar was quite necessary and proper. I should have been prepared to proceed much further, had I been called upon to try this man at the time, for stern examples were required, and the safety of the State is the highest Law.

But we have no such pretence now: the man has languished a year in prison, he is dismissed, dishonoured, his property confiscated, he is neither an object of fear nor of sympathy. The crisis is past. Let this man retire to his home as soon as it is safe: he is not a fit object for a great Government to wreak their vengeance on, departing from all forms of procedure laid down by Law and admitted by the agreement of Nations, *viz.*, that a man charged with a crime shall be tried at once, on the spot, and confronted with his witnesses.

Such was the opinion with regard to the disposal of the prisoner of the Commander-in-Chief, recorded May 3 on the back of the letter of the Deputy Commissioner, dated April 28, 1858. Such are my opinions. We must remember that these trials will be reviewed by posterity, after the passions of the moment have cooled down. In the case of any overt act of Mutiny or Desertion, I unhesitatingly consign the party to the gallows, but I draw my line there; I will not lend myself to any constructive treason.

Your decision in the case of Gunga *v.* Singh, No. 2237, of June 15th, 1858, has compelled me clearly, but respectfully, to record my convictions. In the reign of Henry VIII "a Crown Trial was an order to condemn: the Crown properly or improperly wished to get rid of a subject." The remarks of Brigadier Chamberlain, dated May 5th, 1858, recorded on a paper, which is that of a judicial proceeding, in which he suggests transportation for this prisoner, are calculated to give an unfavourable opinion of our criminal system. If, as he says, a Military Commission would so sentence him, let one be convened at Derah Ghazi Khan.

My opinion is therefore that recorded by the Commander-in-Chief on the 3rd of May, that the defendant be kept in prison till such time as the rebellion has settled down, and then allowed to retire to his house.

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST.

July 13, 1858.

In spite of my remonstrance the man was sentenced to four rs' imprisonment in the common gaol, though he was a ier of high rank. He never saw either witness or judge. his property was confiscated. I got him released two

ART. IV.—BRAHMABAIBARTTA PURAN ON DISEASES.

[THEIR PREVENTIVES.]

UNLIKE *Charak* and *Susruta* the *Brahmabaibartta Puran* is a religious work. The great sage, Krishna Dvaipayan Vedavyas, is its reputed author. It is thus far from being an authority on the Ayurvedic or Hindu system of medicine. But like all the classical works of the Hindus, it is a compendium of everything that man is most in need of either in this world or in the world to come. As Hygiene forms but an important part and parcel of that everything, it has been beautifully touched upon in course of a discourse between Narayan, one of the Hindu Triad, and a sorrow-stricken widow, Malabati, begging him for the life of her spouse. Before her appears the kind-hearted god and thus delivers himself: Those, who wash their eyes, who give the system due exercises, who apply oil to the sole of the foot, to the ears, and to the head, are free from sickliness and diseases. Those, who walk abroad in spring, and sit for a short while by the fire, are invulnerable of their attack. Those, who bathe in the cold water of a tank, besmear themselves with powdered sandal and air themselves towards evening, and who bathe in warm water and not in rain-water in rainy season, are not subject to sickliness and diseases. Those, who keep themselves aloof from the sun in autumn and bathe in a pond and are temperate for the season, who bathe in like manner, sit by the fire occasionally and take warm rice for the period just preceding winter, are not preyed upon by them. Those, who take fresh meat, fresh rice, and a regular drink of milk and are not averse to taking *ghee*, and drink cold water, and are used to a regular rumination of betel, are far from catching the malady. Those, who live on curd, butter and other products of the cow, and put a check on animal propensities, are not taken ill.

THEIR CAUSES.

Those, who eat warm meat, expose themselves to the sun when in Virgo—and take stale curd, are the fit tenement of diseases with their attendant evils.

Silly, are those, who are audacious enough to feed on curd at night, who attach themselves to public women. For sin and disease go hand in hand. Diseases and other ills are caused by sin. Look here ; sin brings on diseases, sin brings on sickliness or general debility. Sin brings on us poverty. It is owing to sin that man suffers. This is why the sages of India have all along shrunk from sin, the root of all evils. The system of the high-souled is proof against obstinate and severe diseases. The truth of the above should not be lost sight of in connection with the unseasonableness of a malady and in regard to the rules of Hygiene. When the exact hour is struck, death must needs come on us. All other diseases are the offspring of Fever, inasmuch as the latter is the offspring of Wind, Bile and Phlegm. How these three get into the system I shall presently see. Bile is secreted when acute hunger is not satisfied. Shortly after eating a palm-fruit, a *bael*, those who drink water, court Death through Bile. Those, who take a drink of warm water in autumn and bitters in the month of Bhadra, induce Bile; of which coriander seed powdered and mixed with cold water, gram and all the products of the cow but butter milk, ripe *bael* taken with sugar-cane juice, ripe *bael* taken with the molasses of sugar-cane, ripe date-palm, ginger, *mug* (phaseolus mungus) (a sort of kidney-bean), and powdered sesamum with sugar are antidotes. A bath after meal, a drink of water when not thirsty, create phlegm. *Til* (sesamum) oil and other cooling oils and the cooling product of emblic myrobalan cause phlegm. Those who eat boiled rice soaked, drink butter-milk, eat well ripe plantain and curd, drink rain sherbet prepared of sugar and very cold water, cannot avoid phlegm. The milk of cocoanut and a lot of other articles similar to those already named as causing phlegm I omit making any mention of, lest the paper be charged with tautological expressions.

Any sort of stirring after meal, heat, oft-repeated roaming, grief, dryness, hunger, quarrel, ill words and constant fear and grief, these are the causes of Wind (*Vayu*), which has an efficacious preventive in cocoanut, palm, date, the fruit of emblic myrobalan, a bath in tepid water, application of powdered sandal to the body, and such fanning as has a cooling effect on the system. In case of a man *Vayu* is caused by trouble, physical and mental—and by lust. As any more details are comprised in the Aryan medical works, I stop here.

NAKUR CHANDRA BISWAS.

⁂ We have excised a few lines in the above paper unfit for publication.—ED., *C. R.*

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ART. V.—HINDU CASTES AMONGST THE MAHRATTAS.*

THE Marathi-speaking people inhabit the Bombay Presidency, some districts of the Central Provinces and the Berars. Some big cities in the North-West Provinces like Benares, and Allahabad also contain Marathi-speaking people. The districts of the Central Provinces in which Marathi is spoken are Nagpur, Bhandara, Chanda, Wardha and Balaghat. In the districts (of the Central Provinces) where Hindi is spoken, some Mahratta settlers are to be found.

In this short account, the existing Hindu castes shall be described under the four original divisions of Hindu society, *viz.*, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vysyas and Sudras. The present Brahmins of the Marathi-speaking country are sub-divided into several orders. The followers of the Rig Veda are divided into three orders, the Rigvedis, Aswilayans and the Apastambas. The followers of the Yajur Vedas are also divided into several orders, such as the Kanawas, the Madhandins and the rest. Besides these are the Bhagaris, Malvees, Narbadis and the Shanvayees.

Then again there are sects among them according to the deity they worship, for instance, those who are worshippers of Siva are called Saivas, those who worship Vishnu are called Vaishnavas, and those who worship Shakti or Devi are called Shaktas. The bigoted people among any one of these sects are sometimes on terms of antagonism with the members of any one of the other two sects; and they go the length of abusing the deity of that sect. Still if these sects belong to the same shakha or branch, they intermarry.†

There is an amusing story which shall illustrate the antipathy borne by one of these sects towards another. Once it so happened that a Shaiva's daughter was married to the

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* The customs which distinguish the Mahratta-speaking Hindus from other Hindus are the following :—(1) They can marry the daughter of their maternal uncle, if the mother of the bridegroom be older than the father of the bride. They call their father-in-law *mama.* (2) Their females do not observe the purdah. In support of the first they repeat a saying to the effect that in the South, people marry the daughter of their maternal uncle; in the West people drink water kept in leather-bags, (such as the Marwaris); in the North people eat the flesh of buffaloes (Cashmerees); and in the East people eat fish (Bengalis and Ooriyas).

† The Rigvedis and the Aswalayanis are one and the same, they intermarry with the Apastambas, and dine with them as well as with the Kanawas and the Madhandins, but they do not intermarry with the Kanawas and the Madhandins.

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son of a Vaishnava. When she came to the house of the father-in-law she used to perform domestic work. One morning she was plastering the floor of the house. As a rule while so engaged her hand moved right and left. The father-in-law was there and he saw this. He thought her conduct was sinful. He at once ran towards her and struck her in the face. The girl was taken by surprise, and in order to know what fault she had committed that she was beaten, she asked her father-in-law in an humble tone the reason why she was struck by him. The father-in-law replied that though she was the daughter of a Shaiva she was married in a Vaishnava family and so she must follow the rule of a Vaishnava family. Every act, in a Vaishnava family, must be done perpendicularly and not horizontally as she was doing. Afterwards, one day, the father-in-law was cleaning his teeth by rubbing some tooth powder against his teeth, with one of his fingers, while so engaged he was observed by the same daughter-in-law. She found that her father-in-law was moving his hand horizontally and not perpendicularly, while cleaning his teeth, as he had ordered that every act should be performed in the family. She thought that it was a good opportunity to teach him a lesson. So she at once ran towards him, gave him a good slap on the face, and reminded him that he was a thorough Vaishnava who must not wash his teeth in that way.

All these Brahmins speak the Marathi language or a dialect of that language. As regards their writing, all the ordinary business is carried on in Marathi *lipi* or character,* books and Sanskrit pothis being printed or written in Balbade or Dev Nagri character.

Again among these Brahmins there are two divisions. Some are Grihastas and others Bhikshuks. Bhikshuks are those who live upon the charity of others, such as priests and other *bhuts*. These priests are generally family priests called Upadhyas and Joshis. Upadhyas are confined to some families among the higher classes, while the *Joshis* have a wider scope and their services are engaged by all the villagers, including the lower castes.

Then we come to the second division or order, *i.e.*, the Kshatriyas. This order is strictly speaking extinct. But there are some castes which put forth their claims as belonging to the Kshatriya class. These castes are *Rajputs*, Marathas, and Jâts to some extent.

Rajputs and Jâts originally lived in the northern and north-western parts of India; but a portion of them came to live in the Marathi-speaking country. Those that live in the Marathi-speaking country have adopted the Marathi language. In olden times, under the native rajahs, they were employed in the army as soldiers. But now under the British rule, only a few join the army, and the rest support themselves either by private service or by cultivation.

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* The difference between morhi, the ordinary written business characters and the balbode or printed characters is similar to the difference between the Roman characters and the handwriting or italics in the English language.

Then there are the Marathas, already mentioned, who are a different and independent caste altogether. They claim to be descendants of the Ancient Kshatriyas. They originally lived in the Deccan. They were a martial race. Once they were so powerful that they ruled over not a small tract but had sway almost all over India. The name of Shivaji is well known. In course of time his descendants lost all power and there is no more a kingdom ruled by the caste called Marathas. All their glory is gone. Some of them migrated to the Nagpur country from the Deccan and they are the famous Bhonslas and their dependents. In Shivaji's time, their mode of living was simple, but in course of time, they have become luxurious. The people belonging to the Maratha caste who live in Nagpur, depend mainly for their support upon what they have received from the Government in the nature of pensions, inam lands, mokasas, etc. But the majority of them are in distress, being too much involved in debt. The reason of their indebtedness appears to be that they have not altogether abandoned their luxurious habits. Some of them have entered into the service of Government, or of private persons and others maintain themselves by cultivation. They observe all the festivals that are observed by the Brahmins. They observe the *Dusserah* festival with some degree of pomp, and thus we see in Nagpur when on the day of the Bejaya Deshami, the so-called *rajahs* and *raises* of Nagpur go out in a procession from their houses to the temple called the Raja Baksha's Maroti with elephants, horses, camels and attendants, accompanied with music. They have no objection to eat flesh or drink liquor. The latter they take to an excess and get drunk. Many a Maratha family in Nagpur have been ruined on this account. A few people of this caste have received English education and so they hold some appointments under Government. It has been already mentioned that they speak the Marathi language, but they do not, as a rule, speak it correctly. They have their own slang expressions. We then come to the third order the Vaishyas. Now-a-days this class comprises several castes and ey are the Sonars, the Lohars, the Sutars, the Guravs, and e Kasars.

The word Sonar (goldsmith) appears to be the contracted form of the word Suvurnakar. Their profession or business is to prepare golden or silver ornaments. They are good skilful workmen and their skill is appreciated in the East and some parts of the West. Some people of this caste acquire a smattering knowledge of reading and writing. But they are notorious as secret thieves. In making any golden article they keep back some gold.

Then comes the Lohar caste (the blacksmiths). They make iron instruments; those who live in small villages make iron things of a course kind. They are useful to the peasants. They make for the agriculturists, their iron plough-heads called *kasha* and other iron implements, such as the *pass*, the *edia*, the *intia*, the *khant*, the *pavada*, the *kudal*, the *kasalia*, and the instrument of daily use, the axe. Those *Lohars* who live in towns make better sorts of iron and steel articles, such as the *adkita* (betel-nut-cracker), *katri* (scissors), knives, pen-knives, nails, chains, iron safes, etc. When a blacksmith (Lohar) opens his small shop in a village he works upon the hot iron by beating it with the hammer, while his wife or mother blows the air into the fire with a pair of bellows; and if he has a son or younger brother he puts coal into the fire. From the tenants of the village whose agricultural implements they make or repair the village smiths do not get their remuneration in cash but in kind. When the ears of jawari are plucked and collected, he gets a big basketful of the ears of *jawari*; and after the threshing is over he gets about two *kudos* of jawari. At the time of reaping of the *rubby* harvest, such as wheat or gram, if he goes from field to field, he gets about half a kudo. Besides this, he gets *hurda* (ears of jawari, etc., when they are about to be reaped) of every kind of crop. At the time of cutting these crops, he receives *themlas* and *pendhis** of wheat, gram, pea, etc. In this way they earn their livelihood. After the labour of the day the recreation or entertainment in his shop consists of country songs sung by him and several other villagers who gather in his shop. The instruments of music used for singing are a *chonake*, a *dholke*, a *manjira*, and sometimes a *duff*. They sit singing till about midnight, when all the folk disperse to their houses. Drinking liquor is allowed in this caste and some of its members waste all their earnings in it. Recently I observed one instance of a drunkard blacksmith with my own eyes. Last June when I was in my village Karanja, one evening I happened to go out for a walk towards a field to see the sowing operations. While passing through the market in the company of th school master and a few others, I was confronted by a youn man of my acquaintance belonging to this caste. He salut me, saying, "Deshmuk Saheb, *ram ram.*" At that time, his eyes looked as red as hot iron and his legs were shaking and his speech indistinct. I asked my companions what was the matter. They said: "The fellow has got drunk; although he earns about eight or ten annas a day he cannot maintain his wife and a number of children." The fellow had put on a torn *dhoti*, a torn over-garment, and a cap. He could not provide himself even with a *bandi* (shirt). The fellow accompanied us to the field walking in a staggering and trembling manner. From the market he had purchased about a *paili*[*] of jawar for the evening bread. While walking about the field, the bundle which contained the jawar got loose and some of it fell to the ground, he being in a half-conscious state. Being interrogated as to how he lost the jawar he said he had sown the jawar in the field. One of the company made his bundle tight remarking that when the fellow gets home and comes to his senses, he will weep for the loss.

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* Various sorts of bundles of the stalk of corn.

In this caste the principal holidays are *jivti* and *mandoos*. On these days they do not work but worship the tools with which they work and spend the days in festivity.

We now come to the caste of *sutars* or *badhais* (carpenters)' We shall first speak of village *sutars*. As a rule, in every village there is the house of one carpenter. He is under the control of the Patil or malguzar (landlord) whose favour and good wishes he must always try to secure. He earns his livelihood mainly by making the wood-work of the implements of husbandry of the agriculturists. He makes for them their *Bákar* and Nangar (plough), including also their *Douras*, *Dindas*, *Tiphan*, *Halis Ju*, and other agricultural implements. For his work the carpenter does not get his remuneration in cash but in kind, *i.e.*, grain.

If he goes to the fields, at the time of reaping the jawar, he gets one or two basketfuls of ears of jawar, otherwise every tenant reserves that quantity for him. Besides this he gets one or two kudos of jawar and other things such as *Hurda*[†] and *Umbya*. So, it is evident, his remuneration is similar to that of the village smith. If the carpenter is a man advanced in years, he is regarded with some degree of respect by the villagers. During the day many a cultivator sits in his kamtha (shop) while their work is being done and while away the time in idle gossip. If he has a liking for songs, a singing party meets at his shop, during the first part of the night at the smith's shop. If in the village the malguzar (landlord) or any tenant has a sugar-cane plantation, and he chooses not to sell the standing crops but wants to manufacture raw sugar or gul, then the machine called in Marathi ghana, is prepared by the village carpenter, and for his work he is given a certain quantity of gul and also a number of sugar-canes. So much for the village carpenter, then we come to the town carpenter. Town carpenters earn their livelihood by working for hire and receiving their wages in cash. They build houses in towns. Some of them are skilful workmen. Their skill consists in fitting and joining the several parts of the thatching. Some of them acquire a little knowledge of reading and writing. In Nagpur and other adjoining districts the sutars or wadhis used till lately to eat food prepared by Brahmins, but now I have observed in my part of the country that they do not. They have a Sankaracharya or religious tutor of their own who visits different places and reads to them some *pothis.* They have changed their caste-name and call themselves sukh-washi Brahmins: they now put on soolas* like Brahmins, after bathing, till they eat their dinner and try to live like Brahmins. They were all till lately taking flesh, specially on the Ras or threshing festival, when a sheep or a goat is sacrificed to the field deity.

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[*] A wooden measure of grain.

[†] Hurda means ears of jawari or Indian corn almost ripe. To burn rda and eat them at the season is considered a great pleasure by ople.

Let us now turn to another caste of the Vaishyas—the Kásars. They are those persons who deal in brass and copper vessels. They, to some extent, correspond to the Sonars of whom an account has been already given. These Kásars often do not make the brass or copper vessels or utensils themselves, as they purchase them from another caste called Tambulkars† and sell them at a profit. In the Central Provinces they are found in the Nagpur division as well as in the Narbada division. Perhaps they are few in number in the other two divisions. In the Bombay Presidency they live in big cities like Puna, Satara, Pandharpur and other places. People of this caste are of an enterprising character.

Then there are the Gurav. They form a caste of their own. They divide themselves into two branches—one branch devotes itself to the service of Shiva or Mahadev; they fetch belpatra, clean and wash the temple of Siva. They perform the worship of that deity. They maintain themselves by whatever they get in the temple in the shape of offerings or presents before the god Shiva.

Another branch of this caste does the business of wagentr
or bajentri (musicians). They play on the *Sanai.*

The several castes who claim to belong to the Vaisha or have been described—the Sonars, Lohars, Sutars, Kásars and Guravs. The male members of all these castes put on janava or sacred thread after their marriage.

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* Soola is a silken or tusser dhoti worn both by males and fe
when they take their meals.

† Tamars.

Then we come to the fourth main division of the Hindus—the Sudras. It comprises a large number of castes. First the Kunbis. They are agriculturists. Even at the present day the majority of Kunbis are cultivators, some of them holding a little higher status of a malguzar or Patil. There are several sub-divisions among the Kunbis—they are Tirolye, Bavul, Zade and others. Many of these Kunbi agriculturists personally work in the field. They hold the plough and till the land usually with their own bullocks, but occasionally by hiring the bullocks of other people: the hire is called *khand.* Some of them have seed of their own, while many borrow it either from the Patil (landlord) of the village or from any creditor, *sahukar* or seth in some neighbouring town on didhi or *savai.* At times they even borrow food grains such as jawar called *podga.* They work in the field during the day with their wives and children. When the season for watching the corn comes the male members go to the field during the night and watch sitting on a *mala* or stage. Even during the day time the cultivator usually does not go to his house for food, he takes his breakfast of the previous day's bread and chatni either in the house or in the field ; in the noon his wife or son brings for him fresh bread (roti) and bason or pulse or vegetables cooked. On the arrival of his meal, he goes either to a running brook or a well close by and satisfies his hungry stomach and then takes a short rest under a tree while his bullocks graze. In the afternoon he resumes his work in the field. In the evening he grazes his cattle, and when it is dark he takes his bullocks to the village. On reaching home he gives fodder and cotton-seed to the bullocks. His wife then gives him a hot-water bath and places before him fresh food for supper : after taking which, he sits near a fire in the cold season, smokes his chilam, and then goes to bed. This is the life of a country *Kunbi.* Some of the *Kunbis* have taken to other trades. One of them is that of a *bania* (grocer) dealing in sugar, gud, salt, cocoanut, betel-nut and other such articles. Others deal in cloth and other substances.

Then there is another caste which has agriculture for its occupation. It is the Bhoer caste. Bhoers correspond to Kunbis. They solely depend upon agriculture for their support. They speak a mixture of Marathi and Hindi. Many of them [illegible]eak colloquial Marathi, though not correctly.

The Telis form another Sudra caste. Their occupation is [illegible] extract oil from various sorts of oil-seeds, such as linseed, [illegible] in their rough oil-mills and then sell the oil ; but now some of them have taken to agriculture. As a caste the Telis are regarded as lower in the gradation.

Then comes the caste of Shimpis (tailors). This caste does the business of sewing; both males and females do the work in the house. They also deal in cloth. They purchase cloth from big cities and sell them in small towns and villages.

Then there is the caste of barbers. They are called Mhalees or Nhavees: their business is to shave. Besides which they hold torches and guard the houses of their masters.

Then comes the caste of washerman, called Dhobis or Parits or Varthis. They bleach as well as wash clothes. In the old days people used not to give their clothes to be washed by the washerman so often as they do now.

The caste of Bhoi. They maintain themselves by catching fish and selling them in the market.

The Govari or Gaoli—they breed and tend cattle. They were once a flourishing caste. They used to keep a large number of cows and buffaloes.

The name Ati-Sudra includes Mahars, Dheds, Chamars, Mangs, etc. Mahars are generally the village watch-men—the Kotwals. Dheds and Mangs do the business of playing on Sanai: they are called Wajantris. Chamars make shoes.

NOTE.—The above account of the Hindu castes in the Marathi-speaking country must not be considered as exhaustive. For instance, there is no mention of the Wanis or Banias. I have heard that they belong to the Vyasa division in Nagpur and in places towards the west of Nagpur. There is also no mention of the caste of Chitnavis or Parbhus. They correspond to Kayesths in other parts of India. This article is taken from a lecture delivered by Mr. Baliram Deshmuk, B.A. (Cal.), at Wardha, in the Central Provinces, slightly altered with his permission.

R. B.

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ART. VI.—LEGENDS OF ST. THOMAS IN SOUTH INDIA.

IT seems to be instinctive to human nature to preserve and reverence relics of the great and good. Particularly is this true in connection with religious matters, and whether we go to Christianity, or to Buddhism, or to Islam, we find scores and scores of objects, which are reverenced for their connection, supposed or real, with the founders or upholders of their faith.

Sadly enough, whilst the veneration of sacred relics begot much that was best in men, it nevertheless was responsible for much that was evil. The desire of communities and monasteries to possess relics soon grew beyond even an appreciation of what was honest. That which could not be bought, and the traffic in spurious relics attained vast proportions, was as often as not stolen; and it was by no means uncommon for one monastery to wage a marauding campaign on a neighbouring one for the sake of some coveted relic.

With the Reformation there came a huge reaction, and whilst the veneration of sacred relics forms a prominent feature of the Catholic Church of to-day, the abuses of the Middle Ages have vanished for ever. How far such relics may be genuine is not, of course, a matter that comes within our province to discuss.

Many of our readers are doubtless aware of the existence of St. Thomas' Mount. Some seven miles south of Madras, it is a granite and syenite rock, about 220 feet above sea level, overlooking a military cantonment. The ascent is made by some 200 steps solidly built on the north-eastern face of the rock. Right on its summit is the little chapel that is now the curious old Portuguese Church of "The Expectation of the Blessed Virgin." In the chapel there exist two important relics, one a picture of the Madonna, reputed to be painted by St. Luke, the Evangelist, and the other "the bleeding cross." It is said that the Portuguese found "the bleeding cross" when they were digging for the foundations of a hermitage amidst the ruins which marked the spot of the martyrdom of St. Thomas. Curious to state, the ruins were found in the possession of a Mahommedan fakir. The discovered cross was erected over the altar of the chapel which was built on he new sanctuary. On the face of the black marble slab is be seen the cross in relief, a bird like a dove over it, with wings expanded as the Holy Ghost is usually represented when descending on our Lord at his Baptism, or on our Lady at her Annunciation. There is also an inscription, supposed to be in Pehlevi, the exact translation of which is an open question.

That there was a large and influential Christian community at Mylapore and its neighbourhood, in very ancient times, goes without saying; but it does not appear what cause had destroyed it. The probabilities are that being of a warlike spirit the Christians were forcibly converted to Islam when the Mahommedans of the North triumphed over the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar.

According to the Chaldæan Breviary and certain Fathers of the Catholic Church, St. Thomas converted many countries of Asia, and found a martyr's death in India. The meagre tradition of the early Church was expanded by the Catholic writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The abstract by Vincenza Maria makes the Apostle commence his work in Mesopotamia, and includes Bactria, Central Asia, China, "the States of the Great Mogul," Siam, Germany, Brazil and Ethiopia in the circle of his missionary labours. The apostolic traveller then sailed East again to India, converting the Island of Socotra on the way, and after preaching in Malabar, ended his labours on the Coromandel Coast. The final development of the tradition fills in the details of his death. It would appear that on the 21st December, A. D. 68, the Brahmans stirred up a tumult against the Apostle, who, after being stoned by the crowd, was finally thrust through by a spear upon the spot, now known as St. Thomas' Mount.

Another legend ascribes the honor of the conversion of India to an Armenian merchant. It is said that in the eighth century (A. D. 780) Thomas Cana, or Mar Thomas, as he is sometimes called, settled in Malabar for purposes of trade, married two Indian ladies, and grew into power with the native princes. He found that such Christians as existed before his time had been driven by persecution from the coast into the hills. Mar Thomas secured for them the privilege of worshipping according to their faith, led them back to the fertile Coast of Malabar, and became their Archbishop. On his death, his memory received the gradual and spontaneous honor of canonization by the Christian communities for whom he had laboured, and his name became identified with that of the Apostle. He was doubtless the rebuilder, but was certainly not the founder, of Christianity in India.

There is an interesting tradition that at the end of t ninth century (A. D.) 863 the shrine of St. Thomas was devou visited by the ambassadors of King Alfred the Great, a their return with a cargo of pearls and spices rewarded the zeal of the English monarch who entertained the largest projects of trade and discovery.

When the Portuguese first opened the navigation of India, the Christians of St. Thomas had been seated for ages on the Coast of Malabar, and the difference of their color and character attested the mixture of a foreign race. In arms and arts they excelled the natives of Hindustan. The husbandmen cultivated the palm tree, the merchants were enriched by the pepper trade, the soldiers preceded the nobles of Malabar, and their hereditary traditions were respected by the gratitude or fear of the King of Cochin and the Zamorin himself. They were governed, even in temporal matters, by the Bishop of Angamala. He still asserted the ancient title of Metropolitan of India, but his real jurisdiction was exercised in 1,400 Churches, and he was entrusted with the care of 200,000 souls. The religion of these Christians would have rendered them the firmest and most cordial allies of the Portuguese, but the Inquisition discovered in the Christians of St. Thomas the unpardonable guilt of heresy and schism. Instead of owning themselves the subjects of the Roman Pontiff, they adhered, like their ancestors, to the communion of the Nestorian Patriarch; and the bishops whom he ordained at Mosul held spiritual sway over them. In their Syriac liturgy, the names of Theodore and Nestorius were piously commemorated: they united their adoration of the two persons in Christ: the title of Mother of God was offensive to their ears; and when the image of the Virgin Mary was first presented to the disciples of St. Thomas, they indignantly exclaimed, "We are Christians, not idolators;" and their simple devotion was content with the veneration of the cross. Sixty-four years of servitude (A. D. 1599-1663) and hypocrisy were patiently endured; but as soon as the Portuguese Empire was shaken by the courage and industry of the Dutch, the Nestorians asserted, with vigour and effect, the religion of their fathers. The Jesuits were incapable of defending the power which they had abused; the arms of 40,000 Christians were turned against their falling tyrants; and the Indian Archdeacon assumed the character of Bishop, till a fresh supply of episcopal gifts and Syriac missionaries could be obtained from the Patriarch of Babylon. Since the expulsion of the Portuguese the Nestorian creed is freely professed on the Coast of Malabar.

When, in 1547, the Portuguese came across "the bleeding ross" and had it let into the wall behind the altar of their hurch of "The Expectation of the Blessed Virgin," they held annual festival on St. Thomas' Mount. The date was the

21st December, the anniversary of the death of the Apostle; and while mass was sung, it is alleged, the cross sweated blood profusely, a miracle performed by the martyred Saint to strengthen the faith of the weak and wavering. And a well-known historian quaintly observes that "the Saint performed an annual miracle till he was silenced by the profane neighbourhood of the English."

E. H. BROOKES.

ART. VII.—THE SAKTA RELIGION AND THE FEMALE SEX.

IN Hinduism there are two systems of religion, and only two, the Vedic and the Tantric. There is no third. The Vedas are the sacred books of the former, the Tantras of the latter. No woman, Sudra or outcaste, is permitted to read a word of the Vedas. These are, to all intents and purposes, outside the pale of the Vedic religion.

The Tantras, on the other hand, are for all, irrespective of caste or sex. It is contended by some that the Tantras were especially intended for women, Sudras and outcastes. Whatever truth may be in the statement, the fact remains that Brahmans, males as well as females, have, in great numbers, adopted the Sakta religion and the Tantra scriptures. Still, true it also is, that the position of woman in the Tantric cult gives a special importance and interest to the study of the Tantras. To that study we would now apply ourselves, so far as it is to be pursued by the help of whatever knowledge we may obtain from the books to which we have access, and the people among whom we live, always remembering that both the Tantras and the religion are held to be secret, and the people taught to deny their connection with either.

Initiated women, be it noted, are allowed to read the Tantras, and what to them, in their ignorance of Sanskrit, is of much greater importance, to hear them read and expounded in secret assemblies. Nay more, they themselves are allowed to act as *gurus* or spiritual preceptors, as priests or mohunts, having *chelas* or disciples of their own. A female mohunt became a convert of the Gopalgunge Evangelistic Mission, and a most excellent convert she has proved. "A woman," says the *Yogini Tantra*, (6) "who is virtuous, well-behaved, devoted to the *guru*, of subdued senses, knowing the meaning of all *mantras*, modest, a zealous worshipper, she is fit to be a *guru*, widows being excepted." Initiation by a woman is said to be auspicious, that by a mother is recorded to be so in an eight-fold degree. A widow may give a mantra if empowered by her son, and a daughter if empowered by her father, also a wife if empowered by her husband. "Being *enceinte* does not invalidate initiation by a woman, but she must not perform such function in the tenth month on pain f going to hell." *Tantra Sar*, 6. Vedic mantras, such as e Gayatri, Om, etc., are, however, prohibited to women. ests representing them perform the worship of the gods offering a Bhojya in lieu of the Vridhi Sraddha and the

Kusundika and Basudhara ceremony with due reverence. *Mahanirvana Tantra*, p. 200 (Dutt's English Translation).

Among other functions of great importance which a woman is allowed to discharge, is *Purashcharana* (invigoration of the mantra). "This is as necessary to the mantra as life is to the body . . . one may do it for oneself with the permission of the *guru*, or get it done by the *guru*, or if he is not available, by a properly qualified Brahman, or a properly qualified woman." T. S. 17. Then there is the *Homa*—sacrifice. "In cases of inability to perform Homa, etc., twice the number of repetitions of the mantra may be substituted. But it is only in the case of women and Sudras—who can perform Homa, etc., vicariously through a Brahman—that such repetition is quite as effective as the Homa, etc., whose place it takes." T. S. 19. "Proper performance of *Purashcharana* secures union with the deity."

No woman, according to Buddhism, can go to heaven till she first becomes a man. The great sin or blunder of which the founder of Buddhism considered himself guilty, and which was a burden upon him all his life-long was his admitting women into his Order. He prophesied that, because of it, the life of the Order would be limited to 500 years. The Sakta religion, apparently from the beginning, admitted women into its Order; some think too much so. And as to going to heaven why, she becomes, or is by her very nature divine on earth. More of that anon.

But here we must try and explain first what is the *Sakta* religion, what is the meaning of the name, and what the distinguishing characteristics of the religion as such. The answer is simple.

The Sakta religion is the worship of energy or power as personified in a female. The word *Sakti* means female energy, a goddess, Kali or Durga, worshipped as the Supreme Being. The distinguishing characteristic of the religion is the prominence given to Kali, or Durga as Sakti, the wife of Siva or Mahadeva, the third in the Hindu triad. She is worshipped under very many different names or 'forms,' each having its own mythological history. Subordinately to her or them every female, as representing the goddess, may, at any time and especially at the secret midnight meetings or circles of the initiated, be set up as the divinity to be worshipped. The worship is also directed to images having the form of a woman, or simply to her emblem, as in a diagram made by the finger or on paper, etc., or in conjunction with the Linga, Siva emblem, or in the living woman.

So far as the living female is worshipped as the represe ation of the Supreme Being, the cult has a curious resembla to the Religion of Humanity, known as Positivism, created and set up by the mad philosopher of France, M. Auguste Comte. The *Kumari Tantra*, of which more below, says:—"The whole world is embodied in the woman. One should be a woman one's self. Women are vitality." "Of Siva and Sakti, both of whom are eternal, the greater is the Sakti." "Again, Sakti gives strength to Siva, without her he could not stir a straw; she is therefore the cause of Siva". (*Sankara Vijaya*).

The same state of feeling is indicated by the position given to the females in the compound phrases *ma-bap*, (mother, father), *Lakshmi-Narãyanan*, *Sita-Rama*, *Radha-Krishna*, etc., even when no exclusive or supreme worship is intended for the female. The phrases are by some supposed to be survivals of the time when men looked for their ancestors to the mothers only, and not to the fathers, as is the case to the present day among the Nairs of South India, and among some tribes in the Himalayan valleys and in the Kasi hills of Assam.

The Tantric religion, it must be remembered, embraces a large number of devotees of other goddesses than Durga or Kali, such as Lakshmi or Mahalakshmi, the bride of Vishnu, and Sarasvati, the bride of Brahma; though we hear nothing of the worship of either in the Vedas as brides of their respective lords.

It will thus be seen that the worship given to these female divinities in the Tantras is, as we proceed, not to be confounded with the customary homage rendered by all the Hindu sects to the wives of the gods whether Vedic or otherwise. In the case of the Saktas, that is, of all who follow the teaching of the Tantras, under whatever name Sakti is worshipped, whether as the bride of Siva, or the spouse of Vishnu, or the consort of Brahma, the worship forms a religion by itself totally distinct and different from anything found either in the Vedas or the Puranas, though something like its germs or seeds, subsequently developed, may be discovered in some older Shastras, Vedic and Puranic; and while the Tantras have a good deal of mythology (which must not be confounded with their religion) quite distinct from that of the older Puranas and Vedas, much also of the latter is blended with that of the Tantras. Still the Tantric or Sakta worship, religion, or cult as such, and with special reference to females, the subject before us, is totally distinct from the ancient Vedic eligion of India. It is a unique religion which may be said to ve originated in Bengal in the early centuries of the Christian ; that is, it materialized or took definite form as embodied scriptures known as Tantras then and thereabout; and though it must be admitted that there is a wide gulf between the right-hand Saktas and the left-hand or Vamacharis (known sometimes as Kaulas), yet in the worship given to Sakti or female divinities they are one and the same, and quite distinct from all other Hindu sects.

Yet it is also true that even as regards religion proper, attempts have been made to introduce into it Vedic mantras and rites and customs, as for example in the introduction of Om and the Gayatri with the prohibition that females are not to use them; and in the Shradha ceremony where they are treated with the Sudras in regard to the prohibition of the sacred sacrificial thread. "Let one eschew the sacrificial thread in the Shradha of a Sudra or woman." Y. T. 87. Sometimes the attempt is made to base the Tantric custom on a corrupted text of the Vedas as in the Sati which seems to have originated with the Tantras.

In the Yogini Tantra, we find the rules :—"Save at Mukti-tirtha, let not a Brahmani follow her husband in death; in the way of Mukti-(tirtha) let her not even ascend a separate pyre. The work should be done for ten days; it is forbidden elsewhere. One dead by hanging, or one drowned, or a corpse a night old, or dead by consumption or leprosy,—let not a Brahmani follow him in any place but Mukti-tirtha. Women with many sons, or pregnant, or again menstruous, disgracing their families, or unchaste,—never. Then for the following of him, let her set up the corpse one day. She may follow him the next day, no fault arises thereby. In the event of the husband dying in a foreign country, then, anything known to be her husband's—having placed that object in her heart, let her follow the rule of Kshatriya women, etc. If a Sudra be chaste and given to thinking of her husband, she may follow him in death; and this is pronounced the Vaisya's rule also. If the husband die on the third and she follow him on the fourth, let the wise man do her Shradha annually on the husband's *tithi* (religious rites performed at the conjunction of particular planets). If they died in one place, let him scatter the Pinda in one place. Let him have the Shradha performed simultaneously—even so will be the completion of it. A man should have the Pinda of a man and wife made round. Let him make a covering with a garment, let him sprinkle milk. Let him not give milk mixed with the Pinda." Then follow the names of the different kinds of fruit which may and may not be given with Pinda, and the places at which it may be presented. Of one place it said that "bathing there gives precedence to the mother Y. T. 89.

The injunction—"No injury to woman must be done the disciple"—is no more than what is to be expected. Y. T. 98. In the Tantras the institution of Sati seems to be at home, and being modified or regulated under modern influences; while in the Veda it is unmistakably foreign, and foisted into the text and against the context by simply corrupting the original Sanskrit. In the *Mahanirvana*, a comparatively modern Tantra, it seems to be utterly condemned. Says Siva to his loving spouse:—

"Mortals above the age of five, should, on their demise, be burnt on the cremation ground. A chaste woman should never be burnt on the funeral pyre with her husband. A chaste woman resembles thyself (Kali) and her semblance pervades the entire universe; and she is condemned to hell when out of folly she burns herself on the funeral pyre of her husband." According to the instructions left by them, the worshippers of the *Kaulas* should be floated on the river or interred under the ground or burnt down after their death. Death on holy fields (*e.g.*, *Kurukhetra*), in places of pilgrimages, by the side of the image of the goddess Bhagabati, or near *Kaula* worshippers, has been described to be commendable. He that gives up the ghost forgetful of the three worlds and meditating on the eternal one, becomes unified with the Supreme Spirit."

With like tenderness towards the female sex the same Tantra says, p. 81, "A male beast should be offered as a sacrifice. According to Siva's mandate, a female beast should not be slain." We can offer no explanation why a she-jackal seems to be made an exception. *Tara-Vilasodaya*, a Tantric compilation on the worship of Tara, another form of Durga, devotes chapter ix to "sacrifices of she-jackals and other animals to the goddess."

Another matter of great importance is the marriage of females who became widows in childhood. The words of the Mahanirvana (p. 233) are these suggestive ones, which I emphasize:—

"*If a married girl becomes a widow before she knows her husband, she can be given away in marriage again.*"

Only yesterday I was waited on by the female friend of such a woman who has arrived at years of maturity. She became a widow, to all intents and purposes, when only three years of age. She has never seen, as far as she knows, her usband from that day, and of course has never lived with im. She does not know whether he is dead or alive. Can e legally marry again? Supposing she knew he was dead, ld she, a member of a Sakta family when she was married, ad the Mahanirvana as a legal authority for her re-marriage? t standing have the Tantras in our law courts? Can they be pled as 'customary laws of the Sakta sect?' These are questions which we would like to see authoritatively answered.

We have referred to the tenderness of the Tantras towards members of the female sex. It meets us in various forms, alike in relieving them from disabilities, as we have seen, and also in punishments inflicted on such as cruelly use them. Here is an example of the latter from the M. N. T., p. 233. Only the punishments might, we think, be made more severe. The difficulty is the securing of even this modicum of punishment. I refer to the words: "If a husband uses harsh words towards his wife, he should fast for a day; if he beats her, he should fast for three days; if he sheds her blood, he should fast for seven days. If out of anger or stupefaction, a person addresses his wife as mother or sister, he should by Siva's mandate, fast for seven days, to cleanse himself of his sin." To address a woman as mother or sister is to disown her as wife; she is thus really divorced. The difficulty is who is to see that these punishments are inflicted. It must not be supposed however that the *Tantra* overlooks the other side. No Hindu would do that; and if the sins of husbands are punished, much more are those of their wives. Into these we will not look save to refer to the fact that to the unfaithful wife there are no funeral rites, nor any other rite. We have in this paper to do only with the wives.

We may quote a passage on the *duties* of women, so as to show that they are not overlooked. "As regards women," says Siva in the Tantra, "they are not required to go to the holy places, or to observe fasts, and other such acts, or perform any vows, except obeying and reverencing their husbands. The husbands of women are their *Tirthas* (sacred places), their *Tapas* (penances), their acts of charity, their religious vows, and their spiritual guides; therefore, with all their hearts, women should obey and serve their husbands. By words and by deeds of tender care, a woman should always please her husband, she should always be obedient to him in all things, and should also please and satisfy his relatives and friends. A chaste and dutiful wife should never look at her husband with cruel and wicked eyes, or speak hard and vile words to him, nor should she ever do anything, even in her thoughts, that would be displeasing to her husband. She who by her body, soul and words, satisfies her husband by always doi acts pleasing to him, attains to the status of the Brahma (o in other words, emancipation, or absorption into the div essence). Following the behests of her husband in all th —she should never look at the face of other men, or spea them or show her limbs to them." M. N., p. 136-7.

The first chapter of the *Kubjika Tantra* treats of the *faults* of women. Were it not for this and like facts, as well as the list of forbidden things—given above and elsewhere—or commandments of the nature 'Thou shalt not,' one would think that being regarded and worshipped as living breathing divinities they would have no faults. The Sakta sees, however, no inconsistency in their faith and practice in this respect. Kali herself is not regarded as sinless. To the Hindu there is no necessary connection between divinity and moral perfection. When we read the *Negamalatâ*, a Tantric compilation "for the attainment of perfection through the adoration of women, according to the Kulachara system"—we are not to understand moral perfection, as in the words of Jesus to His disciples—"Ye therefore shall be perfect as your Heavenly Father is perfect."

So far is woman from being regarded as perfect in the Tantric religion, that she cannot be trusted. "In her childhood a woman should remain under the care of her parents, on her attaining youth and maturity under the care of her husband, and on the advent of old age, under the care of her husband's relatives and friends; but she should never be independent. The girl that does not know the respectful consideration that the husband deserves, she that does not know how to please and serve her lord, and she that is ignorant of the rules of duty and decorum, such a girl should not be given away in marriage by her father." *M. N. Tantra*, pp. 136-7. This passage which we have broken into two is interesting from more than one point of view; first it takes for granted that some girls are never married because of their unfitness for the married state; secondly, that girls are married after arriving at years of maturity, and never while mere children. Child marriage is not countenanced in the Tantra, while the adult marriage of girls is. Hindus at present insist on *all* girls being married at or even before they are twelve.

Another point of interest is the Saiva marriage as distinguished from the Brahma marriage. Siva allows that "the wife who is taken in a Brahma marriage is the real wife and mistress of the house. Without her permission no one can contract another Brahma marriage . . . A son begotten on a wife married according to Saiva rites is not entitled to inherit his (father's) property. But the issue of the Saiva marriage and their descendants are entitled to proportionate maintenance from the owner of the property." Saiva marriages [illegible]e of two sorts ordained by Tantric rites, *one lasts till the* [illegible]*pletion of the Tantric rite* only, and the other for life.

[illegible] Trantric, with a controlled mind and with mutual consent, [illegible]ies while performing the rite of Chakra in the presence of his own people and the Sakti worshippers. He should communicate his desire unto the followers of Siva, saying—"Do ye grant us permission in this Saiva marriage?" Having obtained their permission and reciting 108 times the mantra consisting of seven letters, he should bow unto the great Kali. Then in the presence of the Sakta worshippers he should address the woman, saying, with a guileless heart, 'Dost thou elect me as thy husband?' Thereupon electing him with fragrant flowers and unhusked rice as her husband, according to Trantric rites, she should with great reverence place her hands in his. Then with a suitable Mantra the pair should sprinkle the head of the chakra with water. "Thereat all the Tantric worshippers of the circle should welcome them with benediction. . . . . Distinction of caste is not observed in a Saiva marriage. By the command of Siva one can thus marry any woman of another family who has no husband. . . The offspring of a Saiva marriage, where the mother's caste is superior to the father's, should perform social and religious rites like those of the caste to which the mother belongs". pp. 196-7.

The fifth essential of Sakta worship, known as *Maithuna* ('co-habitation,' as Mr. Dutt translates the word) is performed; or as the passage may otherwise be paraphrased 'a Saiva marriage is solemnised, consummated and, with the close of the meeting, dissolved;' and all this in a public so-called religious meeting—public so far as the full admission of all the duly initiated male and female are concerned, otherwise secret.

The society for the protection of children, of which the Honourable Kanwar Sir Harnam Singh, K.C.I.E., of Kapurthala, is President, was established with the view, among other things, to prevent the sale of little children, especially girls. It is pleasant to observe that the Tantras speak strongly and in no ambiguous terms in condemnation of this practice (p. 235). "The king should exile that sinful wretch who sells sons and daughters or gives his daughter to a ruffian."

What could be better said than the Tantra says it?—" A daughter should be cherished and educated with great care, and she should be, on the attainment of the proper age, given in marriage to an educated bridegroom with dowries and money and jewelleries," p. 123.

The divinity worshipped *par excellence* is spoken of as *The Mother*, " The Mother of the Universe." As a modern writer in the Calcutta *Oriental* monthly says—" The Motherhood of Go is never more emphasized than in the *Tantras*." Kali is th very frequently referred to. And all mothers, if not indeed females, are regarded and spoken of as divinities to be wors ped as semblances of Mother Kali, and that apparently mere sexual considerations.

Siva addresses Kali :—" Thou art pleased with the adoration of the maidens, and art the abode of the worshipper of the maidens. Thou dost take delight in feeding the maidens and dost assume their form," p. 102. On this Mr. Dutt, the editor and translator of the *Mahanirvana Tantra*, remarks :—" The Tantrikas consider the worship of the *Kumari* or the maiden as a great rite. In every temple of Durga a number of such maidens is to be seen." With accredited information before us as to the result, we can only say 'the more the pity.'

Kumârî Pûjâ Tantra is a compilation of 55 slokas, which gives " directions for worshipping virgins of various castes, ages and characteristics." The Kumari Puja is well known in Calcutta. A householder, intent on thus worshipping the Sakti, gets (from outside the membership of his own house) a girl, sets her up as a goddess on a small board or platform surrounded with nine or twelve other females, (men not excluded), places a plate under one of her feet, and to that foot makes the usual offerings of flowers, water, &c. A Brahman gentleman who has himself been present at one or more of these Kumari Pujas, tells me that in Calcutta they are not uncommon. In the Yogini Tantra, (53) the great Mahadev says : " Those gods ever desire a Brahman, a virgin, Sakti, fire, Sruti, and a cow for worship on their sacrificial grounds. If one virgin be worshipped, it will be a second puja. The fruit of virgin worship cannot be told by me. All this (universe) movable and immovable belongs to Kumari (virgin) and Sakti. If one young damsel be worshipped, seen only in spirit, then actually all the high goddesses will be worshipped without doubt. . . . . Whatever is given to Kumari and to Sakti never perishes throughout kotis, hundreds and myriads of kalpas (*i.e.*, years innumerable)." Y. T. 42. A little further on Siva returns to the subject in the words :—

" I am unworthy to tell the fruit of Kumari Puja, even with 1,000 kotis (or krores) of tongues and 100 kotis of mouths. Therefore one should revere Bala as born in every caste ; no distinction should be made in Kumari (virgin) worship. By distinguishing caste, one escapes not from hell. And the mantra speaker, who is full of doubt, will certainly become a sinner, therefore one should worship her, realizing that she is Devi, and with great devotion." Observe that in the above extract, the terms Kumari and Bala are practically interchangeable with virgin and damsel, and worshipped as identical with he goddess. " For Kumari is identical with all Vidya (form Kali) beyond doubt. Bala worshipped alone will be equal all worship. Should a worshipper by chance get a maiden n in a harlot's family, let him zealously adore her even all he has,—gold, silver, &c.,—joyfully. The great siddhi is produced for him. . . . When endowed with all *siddhi* (supernatural powers) a man sports Bhairava; assuredly he has entrance into heaven, earth and Patala (hell). On a sudden is produced whatever occurs to his mind. Assuming the aggregate of bodies, he can become all-pervading, with his commands unobstructed everywhere, like Purandara (Indra). Wives of Devas, Gandharvas, Nagas and Kinnaras, and Vihyadharis, and royal women, serve him day and night. In the end the highest excellent Nirvana is obtained by him; in time, by Kumari-worship, the worshipper obtains Sivahood. Where Kumari is worshipped, that country purifies the earth; the places all round for five krores will be most holy. There one should do Kumari Puja; there breaks forth great light manifest in the land of Bharata (India). A king named Visvambhara, sprung from the Chaitra race, worshipped that Kumari (in the person of a girl) born in a harlot's family, named Kanchi, dark-coloured, filled with all auspicious marks. At the time of worship, Kanchi became sparkingly bright; enveloped in the mass of that brightness, the king obtained liberation," &c. Y. T. 54.

"Maha-Kala-Bhairava said—'I am eternally pleased with this hymn of thine, my son. Go quickly to the Yoni-pitha, resorting to the peak of Devi. Worship Kali, intent upon Kulachara and harlots. Erelong will be thine the desired siddhi, without doubt.' 'Where do I see the Vira worshipper surrounded by harlots?' thus says that Kali; therefore be thou intent on harlots. . . . With that, having bowed to Mahâkâli as *guru*, in many ways, joyfully, and having gone to the Yoni-pitha, resorting to the peak of Devi, and being attached to the five courtezans, and intent on Kulachara," &c., &c. Y. T. 60.

Tantric teaching in regard to what is lucky and unlucky is suggestive of remarks, but our space forbids. We satisfy ourselves by giving the following excerpts "Prepared food, a flesh-ball, cooked food from a vessel, a *guru*, a fish-ball, excellent necklaces, are all propitious in going south. Maidens, twins, harlots, full jars, also women, beasts and birds moving on the left hand, work one good." Y. T. 64.

Women of various kinds figure largely in these Tantras—"In this life good fortune, wealth, food, lovely women of all kinds will be theirs who perform a pilgrimage in Kartika. . . . If one also performs the pilgrimage on the full moon of Chaitra. . . . Such a one becomes best among givers and young women." Y. T. 69.

Of a special mantra and a special pool or Tirtha in Kamr
it is said—"By merely bathing with this mantra on the 13th
the dark part of Vaisakha, one purifies one's family on
sides (father's side and mother's). . . Having there ba
and gratified the *Pitris* (ancestors) according to rule, a ma
deliver his ancestors, though evil-doers, without doubt." p.

The worship of the sun does not occupy the position in the antras that it does in daily life, but it is there, *e. g.*—" The oman whose offspring is born dead by worshipping the sun, with certain fruit) becomes sonless no longer." Y. T. 78. We ust note one point in the interests of woman in which the antra scores a point. The Tantra condemns a man's forsaking f father and mother, wife and children for an ascetic life :—

" He that betakes to this mode of existence [*i.e.* the Suniassi r mendicant] forsaking his old parents, devoted wife, helpless elations, and lisping children, becomes a creature of hell." . 157. " No one should resort to the *Prâvrajya* forsaking his ged mother or father, or devoted and chaste wife and helpless hildren. He that renounces the world, forsaking his parents, hildren, wife, relations and even friends, becomes guilty of einous sins. He that betakes himself to *Bhikshuk-asrama*, r a mendicant's mode of existence, without at first pleasing his arents, etc., is turned into a matricide, a patricide, a Brahminiide, and the murderer of his wife." p. 118. " He that desires o go away from his house, (*i.e*) to renounce the householder's node of existence) should, inviting his relations, friends, neighours, and co-villagers, request their kind permission to do so," 158) ; his not doing so would be robbing them of their proerty in him for which he cannot be held guiltless before God.

In a public meeting in Calcutta I heard the Rev. K. M. Banerjea, LL.D., C.I.E., hold up this sin as the one great in of which the founder of Buddhism was guilty.

Curious are the different kinds or classes of women described in the Yogini Tantra. Here are some—" *Madhvi* is pronounced peace-making ; in subduing a crystal is auspicious ; in checking, *Dakini* is recognized ; in enmity *Paushtiki* is considered best ; in maddening *Gauri* likewise ; and in slaying *Bhairavi* is thought best. These (*i. e.* the Saktis of these four kinds) are now stated. Padmini is pronounced peace-giving ; in subduing Sankini is approved ; in checking and maddening Nagavallabha is commended ; in slaying, likewise, Dakini is praised, giving the death of one's enemies. One who is fair-coloured, long-haired, always of horrid speech, red-eyed and good-tempered is Padmini, auspicious in the performance of rites. That Sankini too should give success in mantras. That Sankini should be long-limbed, delighting the world, even-limbed, with Sudra-body, neither too short nor too tall. A Nagini, (wife or daughter of a Naga) should be long haired, well nourished, of gentle speech, dark-limbed, thin, with big teeth, drunken with intoxiants, with short hair, long-nosed always speaking roughly, ays angry, big bodied, given to loud shouting, shameless, niling, slothful, gluttonous—such a woman is called Dakini is commended in connection with death. Such are the

Saktis sprung from all castes, with offspring fond of sexual intercourse with sons, born, propitious ; such a fair one is to be received by the best of Kulas, and to be worshipped with devotional frame of mind." Y. T. 13.

"The nature of women," says Siva, "is that which will always remain below having seen, there will still be great desire to know (more)." Y. T. 27. That is, she is unfathomable, 'much still to know.' Siva knew, as no one else did, what Durga's "sweet smile and evil eye" meant when directed towards the Daitya monarch, the lord of Kedara, in the incident recorded by him of her whom he calls the enchantress of the world. He says that she "smote the Daitya monarch with the arrows of desire in a 1,000 places.' So the Daitya lord, distraught with the arrows of desire, stretched forth his hands and uttered a very flattering speech—'Come to my breast, become mistress of all with pleasure ; save me, plunged in the ocean of desire, by the gift of thine own person. I can in no wise live any time without thee ; save me, fair one, by embracing me as husband. Then did he address thee (Durga) with flattering words, again and again ; then didst thou *with evil eye and sweet smile,* speak to him thus—" Thou art the lord of all the Daityas, enjoyer of all the earth, thou in sooth art strong, dwelling with all Devas ; thou art valiant and destructive of all ; thee we choose (to be our husband) if thus thou wilt do. Hear now my affair here, as there is no place to abide in ; the terms made by me of old do thou keep, if thou wouldst take me. My mind is this, O Daitya king, Whoever can stand, having conquered me in battle, he and no other is my husband ; for these reasons do thou here essay battle." Y. T. 27. So they set at it as described in the *Devi Mahatmya* or *Chandi* and the Daitya was conquered ; but we do not read that she set down any such rules for Siva before she had accepted him as husband. Further, considering that she was at the time married to Siva, strange she did not set up a plea against polyandry ; or against the twice-married woman. However it must be remembered that if a mistake was committed it might be rectified as indicated in the *Tantra Sar* (6) where we read of a "mantra given by a woman" that it "may be amended by a corrective ceremony," and of another highly important ceremony, the *Parascharana* that "the decking out of a maiden with fine clothes and jewels may form part of the concluding ceremony." T. S. 20.

Fine clothes (including jewels) and children, especiall sons, constitute a large portion of a Sakta woman's desires, a both figure largely in their religion ; and consequently worked upon by designing priests, as seen in connection the objects advertised as attainable at sacred pools and

Tirthas. Here is an illustration from Y. T. 94—" Having bathed at the Durga-kupa on the 8th. . . . . . A woman who is quite barren or has her offspring born dead, she too obtains that state (of pregnancy), especially in the autumn." By touching the tree that stands there, a barren woman will become enciente. If one who has lost a hand bring gold, he in time will recover his hand." Y. T. 105. Of a certain sacred pool it is said " increase of progeny comes by bathing towards the north."

As to the fine clothes I may quote from the Tantric compilation known as the *Brahma Vaiberita Puran*—" Whoever offends or insults a female incurs the wrath of Prakriti, whilst he who propitiates a female, particularly the youthful daughter of a Brahman with clothes, ornaments and perfumes, offers worship to Prakriti herself," that is Durga, the bride of Siva.

There is however another side—Durga asks her learned husband as to " the accomplishment of the Vira's six works," including " perfect behaviour, revelling in all kinds of enjoyment ; and that of women. " In the answer we read.—" Now I tell thee of the raiment. Best is considered Digambara (*i. e.*, naked), second a tiger skin ; failing that a red cloth. Let him not use any garment other than these." Y. T. 12.

There is a side of " the Sakta Religion and the Female sex " which I am very unwilling to leave altogether out of sight, and yet equally unwilling to touch. I call it the sensual or licentious side.* In dealing with it I shall however satisfy myself; and I hope not displease my readers, by giving not my own words, but those of Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, C. I. E., himself a Hindu, with a profound knowledge of Hinduism in its many forms ; and to the words of an anonymous Hindu writer in the pages of the venerable *Calcutta Review*, published in 1855. The article is entitled—" *The Saktas.—Their characteristics and practical influence in society.*" While its statements are clearly those of eye-witnesses, they are supported by excerpts from the acknowledged scriptures of the sect. Dr. Mitra's words on the other hand are almost wholly the result of his and his pundits' reading of the original Sanskrit MSS., in which form almost all the Tantras are still, and but very few in any other language. These MSS. were read and reported on by published orders of the Government of India. I am not aware that any thing has appeared on the subject these 47 years, in the pages of the *Calcutta Review*, except from the pen of the present writer in its last two issues. I shall first give the words of the article in the *Review*, which professes to be founded on Professor H. H. Wilson's *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus* :—

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* Dr. Reginald Scot was the first great writer who, proving that the claims of witches, etc., were illusions and that their punishment for their imaginary crimes was unjustifiable, having in the pursuance of his subject to wade through much dirt, warns his readers—" whose chaste ears cannot well endure such lecheries athered out of books of divinity of great authority) to turn over a few leaves erein I have like a groom, thrust their stuff, even that which myself loath, as a stinking corner ; howbeit none otherwise, I hope, but that the other parts of writing shall remain sweet."—Howard Williams' *Superstitions of Witchcraft*, 4., *See* note in L. G 's MS.

"In all the ceremonies, which not only comprehend the worship of the Sakti, but are performed for the attainment of some proposed object, the presence of a female, as the living representative, and the type of the goddess, is indispensably necessary. Such ceremonies are specific in their nature, and are called *Sadhanas.* Some who are more decent than the rest of the sect, join with their wives in the celebration of the gloomy rites of Kali. Others make their beloved mistresses partners in their joint devotion. Here the rite assumes a blacker aspect. The favourite concubine is disrobed, and placed on the side or on the thigh of her naked paramour. In this situation, the usual calmness of the mind must be preserved, and no evil lodged in it. Such is the requisition of the Sastras, say the Vamis, (the left-handed Saktas), when reproached for their brutal practices. But here we first remind them of the five-fold *Makâras* (the five M's), and then ask them the plain question, how many among them can really boast of ever attaining to such a state of perfection, and such thorough control over the passions, as to keep them unruffled, or from being inflamed in the midst of such exciting causes?

"In this way is performed the rite called *Mantra Sadhana.* It is, as must be expected, carried on in great secrecy, and is said to lead to the possession of supernatural powers. The religious part of it is very simple, consisting merely of the repetition of the *Mula* Mantra, which may or may not be preceded by the usual mode of Sakta worship. Hence it is called *Mantra Sâdhâna,* to distinguish it from other sorts of *Sadhanas.* After 10 P. M., the devotee under pretence of going to bed, retires into a private chamber, where, calling in his wife or mistress, and procuring all the necessary articles of worship such as wine, grains, water, a string of beads, etc., he shuts the doors and windows of the room, and sitting before a lighted lamp, joins with his fair partner in drinking. The use of this preliminary is obvious. When, by the power of the spirit, the veil of shame is withdrawn, he making his wife or mistress sit in the manner already described, begins to repeat his mantra and continues to do so till one, two, or thre o'clock in the morning. At intervals the glass is repeat and the ceremony is closed in a manner which decency d not allow us to state. One of our neighbours, a rich and pectable man in the native community, was in the hal holding private meetings with his mistress every night, for the purpose of making the *Sadhana*. He had a string of beads made of Chandal's teeth, which is yet preserved in his family, as a precious relic. The beads are believed to be endowed with a sort of animation, to drink or absorb milk, and to show the appearance of grim laughter when wine is sprinkled over it. We have ourselves seen the rosary and tried its alleged virtues, but found nothing in it verifying the above statements. . . .

"We now come to the blackest part of the Vama worship. Nothing can be more disgusting, nothing more abominable, nothing more scandalously obscene than the rite we are about to describe. Human nature, even when it shall have reached the lowest depths of degeneracy, can never be supposed to perpetrate deeds so grossly impure as those that are here enjoined as religious acts of the highest merit and efficacy. The ceremony is called *Sri-Chakra*, *Purnabhisheka*, the ring (circle), or full initiation. This worship is mostly celebrated in mixed societies, composed of motley groups of persons of various castes, though not of creeds. . . Persons of high caste, low caste and no caste, sit, eat, and drink together. . . Thus, while the votaries of the Sakti observe all the distinctions of caste in public, they neglect them altogether in the performance of her orgies. The principal part of the rite called the Chakra is *Sakti Sadhana*, or the purification of the female representing the Sakti . . . . . . Although the Vamis are so far degenerated as to perform rites, such as human nature, corrupt as it is, revolts from with detestation, yet they have not sunk to that depth of depravity (asserted by some writers on this subject) as to give up their wives to the licentiousness of men of beastly conduct. Neither is it the ordination of the Shastras. For this purpose they (the Shastras) prescribe females of various descriptions, particularly a dancing girl, a female devotee, a harlot, a washer woman, or barber's wife, a female of the Brahmanical or Sudra tribe, a flower girl, or a milk-maid.—*Devi Rahasya*. Some of the Tantras add a few more to the list, such as a princess, the wife of a Kapali, or of a Chandal, of a Kulala, or of a conch-seller?—*Rebati Tantra*. Others increase the number to twenty-six, and a few even to sixty-four. These females are distinguished by the name of *Kula Sakti*. Selecting and procuring females from the preceding classes, the Vamacharis are to assemble at midnight in some sequestered spot, in eight, nine or eleven couples, the men representing Siva and the women Sakti. In some cases single female personating the Sakti is to be procured. For is purpose a woman of a black complexion (Kali-like) is ays preferred. In all cases the Kula Sakti is placed dis-ed, but richly adorned with ornaments on the left of a circle (*chakra*) described for the purpose, whence the ceremony derives its name. Sometimes she is made to stand, stark naked, with protuberant tongue and dishevelled hair. She is then purified by the recitation of many mantras and texts and by the performance of the *mudra* or gesticulations ? Finally, she is sprinkled over with wine, and if not previously initiated the *Bija* mantra is thrice repeated in her ear. To this succeeds the worship of the guardian divinity ; and after this that of the female, to-whom are now offered broiled fish, flesh, fried peas, rice, spiritous liquors, sweetmeats, flowers and other offerings, which are all purified by the repeating of incantations and the sprinkling of wine. . . . Such is the preliminary, called the purification of the Sakti. To this succeeds the devotional part of the ceremony. The devotees are now to repeat their radical (*Bija*) mantra but in a manner unutterably obscene. Then follow things too abominable to enter the ears of men, or to be borne by the feelings of an enlightened community ; things of which a Tiberius would be ashamed, and from which the rudest savage would turn away his face with disgust. And these very things are contained in the directions of the shastras. . . Here the diabolical business closes." *Calcutta Review*, Vol. 47. No. 24, pp. 55-60. The author in a foot-note gives in support of his statement a quotation in the original Sanskrit from *Devi Rahasya*, a section of the *Rudra Yamala*, with an English translation.

Manmatha Nath Dutt (*Shastri*), M.A., M.R.A.S., Rector, Keshub Academy, and author of the " Prose English Translation of the Mahanirvanam Tantram" and defender of the Tantric cult, contends that there is " a great esoteric meaning behind them. "All these," says Mr. Dutt, " wine, meat, fish and women are objects of temptation. If a worshipper can overcome this temptation, the road to eternal bliss is clear for him." Not so do the Tantras represent matters. These things are there according to the Tantras to be enjoyed as pleasing alike to the worshipper and to the worshipped. The gods are credited with delighting in their heavens in such sensualities, as well as on earth.

" The Tantras were conceived, if not written," says a writer in a late issue of *East and West* (No. 8) " in the midst of social conditions in which the sense of what we call decency was as completely absent as it still is amongst the lower animal creation ; when man and woman went about in a state of nature taking no thought whatever of what they were about, or much later when sex operations and the mysteries of birth and dea were the highest and deepest marvels to their dawning inte gence." Mystery is the key by which much of Hinduism m be explained ; and what greater mystery than that of g ration ?

We shall now proceed to look into the Tantras referred to by Dr Rajendralala Mitra and quote from some of his and of his Hindu pundits' 'Notices' of them. We shall see that they fully confirm all that the writer in the *Calcutta Review*, as quoted above, says concerning them.

The *Ananda Kalpa* seems to be devoted specially to the worship of woman under the designation of Ananda, another name for Durga. It treats of charms bearing her name, and the adoration of her emblem and of her through women representing her. For this purpose a fair damsel of eighteen is used as a substitute for a jar. Mantras are given to be used when pouring sacred water into jars. The whole thing looks rather suspicious as many of the things recorded in the Tantras do, in addition to those passages where there is no attempt to hide the immoral practices indulged in.

Charms associated with this side of the Sakta religion are not uncommon—like that named *Kumari* (the virgin goddess) of which *Kumari-Kava chollasa* Tantra treats.

Nigama Kalpa druma is a Trantra specially devoted to "secret or licentious worships." It praises wine, flesh, fish, gesticulation (?) and female society, in fact the five M.'s. as the noblest form of worship, and women as an instrument of worship. While I keep close to Dr. Mitra's language, I have to admit that I omit two classes of expressions ; first, such as do not bear on the subject before us ; and, secondly, such as are too suggestive of what is obscene and vile. In other respects I keep close to Dr. Mitra's phraseology so as to avoid giving offence, and if the words used be regarded as in any way offensive, my responsibility will be so far lessened.

Another word of explanation is to the effect that words are [illegible] which, when the nature of the religion is kept in view, must be held as suggesting practices which all other religions condemn. For example when Dr. Mitra says that the *Nigama-tattva-sara* is taken up with directions for "secret worship" of the goddess, for the attainment of perfection in Sakta mantras, we take for granted that as above the 'secret worship' means 'licentious worship ;' and that the perfection is not what we regard as perfection. So also when the *Nila Tantra* is said to treat of "connexion with women of different classes as a part of religious duty" we conclude that the religious duty includes licentious worship ; and so again of the *Niruttara Tantra* when we read "of the mode of worship-ing the goddess at night," and in the same Tantra "of the racteristics of courtezans who may be engaged for the la form of worship, and of the purifications of wine, flesh, , fish, gesticulation, and female society, or the five essen- of Kaula worship ;" and when the *Nishachara-puja* is described as a "manual for the worship of the Devi at night," we conclude that licentious worship is presumed. Among the contents of the *Pichchhila Tantra* is the item "worship of virgins," and "rules for bringing people under control by charms," which taken with the following is suggestive of what is highly criminal—"incantations for overcoming enemies and securing the affection of unyielding females." Dr. Mitra's No. 995, an extract from the *Todala Tantra*, "gives the ritual for performing a disgustingly obscene religious ceremony;" the *Bala Tantra* is really a medical treatise in which the troubles and diseases of women and children are treated, including barrenness, miscarriage, abortion and delivery, and may possibly contain nothing very objectionable.

Gupta-Sadhana Tantra treats of the "esoteric, secret adoration of Sakti according to the Kaula cult," apparently to the exclusion of all other subjects; *Nigamalata* is "a Tantric compilation for the attainment of perfection through the adoration of women, according to the Kulachara system." There is nothing in the Sakta religion that has done greater harm to the morals of its devotees than that which is dwelt on in the *Samaya Chara Tantra* and referred to in the words—"females to be accepted as Sakti and males as Siva," coupled with the adjacent words—"the five essentials of Tantra worship, fish, flesh, gesticulation, wine and female society" and "procedure for acquiring power over Sakti." We must further say that we regard only with disgust "the description and praise of the figure, the right half of which is male (Siva) and the left half female" (Durga). As a picture, it is both disgusting and unnatural; as a reality it would be monstrous. But the Sakta worshipper seems to delight in the disgusting. To illustrate this we have, in *Syamarahasya Tantra*, the adoration of Sakti while seated on a corpse, "or the worship of women as the representative of Sakti." The same Tantra deals with "the impropriety of treating wine, flesh, and other articles used in Sakta worship with disfavour," the last of the five articles being women.

The *Shava Sadhana* rite is performed on a burning ground with a view of acquiring power over, and secure aid from, male and female goblins—a horrible ceremony it is, at which the presence of a dead body is necessary, better still the dead body of a Chandal who died a violent death on a Tuesday or Saturday, days sacred to Kali; and most powerful still, if performed o a small platform or board supported by four heads, th worshipper furnished of course with the five M's. Under influence of terror, he sees the dead body becoming aliv attacking him, resulting frequently in his falling down in ble if he does not go mad.

The *Kamakhya Tantra,* as might be expected from its name, is "devoted to the worship of the female emblem with the usual adjuncts of wine, flesh, meat and women." We can fancy it to be a favourite Tantra with the pilgrims to the famous temple of Kamakhya at Kamrup, in Assam.

The *Bhuta Damara* Tantra professes to take its readers up o some superhuman planes or regions, to the secret worship of Pisachis or female imps to subjugate them, as also the maid ervants of Durga, Bhutinis or female devils, Apsaras or courtesans of the god Indra, the demi-goddesses known as Yaksas, the eight Naginis (wives and daughters of the Nagas or Serpents) and Kinnaris or women—not to speak of Aparajita and other goddesses. As might be expected from what is known of Chinese worship, no astonishment need be felt on finding that his work is found among the Chinese.

The *Dattatreya Tantra* is a fitting companion to the *Bhuta Damara,* not so much by its dealings with the female sex, as by its traffic in the Black Art of magic. As regards the former subject, we notice only that it supplies incantations or the bringing on of pregnancy and for the preventing of abortion, miscarriage and childlessness, which, barring the ncantations, may be innocent enough, what cannot be said of the incantations for aphrodisiac medicines and the destrucion of manliness.

Allied to these we have in the *Pichhilâ Tantra* mantras for removing infertility in women and for cure of certain female diseases, as well as mantras for performing incantations for subjugating and dementing people.

Taking into consideration what we have already seen of the Tantras, we need not be astonished, to find the Rasa Festival or amorous rejoicings of Krishna and Radha at Brindabon, adopted into the Tantra literature, as is done in the poem *Rasagita,* in the *Rasollâsa Tantra.*

The *Sakta Krama* Tantra is very full and interesting. As bearing on our subject, we find the worship of virgins of different ages, recommended ; as also the sacrifice of she-jackals, and the worship of shoes, and, worse and worse, "diabolical rites for causing stupefaction, subjugation, etc."

Tantra Kaumadi defines religion and religious bridges, and tells us that Kali is the highest divinity, and that from her union with Siva, sprung the Hindu triad, Siva himself being one of the three. It treats also of sexual genesis, but we are not able to say what its conclusions are on that subject, y we are pretty sure they do not accord with those of ern science. Then we have amulets fitted, so we are to effect subjugation, and so on.

e *Agama-Sangraha* is a remarkable Tantra, treating of many subjects of interest, including "ritual slaughter" and "offering of blood." Our subject is only indirectly referred to in Dr. Mitra's '*Notice*' of it in the phrases—"Three kinds of nocturnal worship," "dead of night (*Mahánisá*) defined," "*Yoni-Kavacha* defined," "women fit for the rite," "*Yantras*—or symbols of Sakti."

The name *Yoni Tantra* and the descriptive 'Notice'—"rites and rituals in honour of the pre-eminence of the female principle in religion"—are suggestive, to say the least, of indelicate treatment. The same remark may be made in regard to the *Nigama Tattva-sara Tantra* in which we read that "the best method of worship is in the present age by the use of animal food, wine and women."

The last Tantra in Dr. Mitra's ten volumes of "*Notices of Sanskrit* MSS." to which I shall refer is *Vasíkaranádi-Vidhi* which treats of "the process of performing the Tantric ceremonies with the object of killing enemies, stupefying and fascinating men and women and so on." Our reporter on the *Kalpa Druma* quotes the following as "a typical sloka" of what is to be found in it :—"He (the devotee) sees Kali, who, placing the tilak on his forehead—intently, with hair let free, seated on a corpse or copulating with a woman in a graveyard, in a lonely place, or on an idol pedestal, or awakening the divine energy, situated in the *mula-dhara* of a Siva's temple."—the muladhara being a Sakta diagram or "circle of primary receptacle."

A word of explanation as to the nature of some of the diagrams or *Tantras* as they are called, and used in connection with Sakti worship in the Tantric cult. The diagram representing Siva and Kali consists of two triangles, generally equilateral and equal to one another, the one triangle standing on the other; each triangle has its three sides cut by the other into three equal sections, thus forming six equal triangles round an equilateral hexagon. The one triangle represents Siva, uniting in himself the three great attributes. The other triangle represents Kali with the same character and attributes. The characteristic mark of the Shaktas is an angle bisected by a straight line (*Cal. Rev.*, Vol. 24, p. 63). Saktas are distinguished amongst the crowds of visitors at the sacred places in and around Benares by three concentric arcs made of red colouring matter on their foreheads. As, however, they are bound down to secrecy and to deny the ecclesiastical connection, these sectarial marks are seldo in evidence. Here is the rule as to the wearing of the sym as laid down in *Yogini Tantra* :—"One should wea *Yantra* (diagram), a man on his right hand, a woman left, and a child near the throat." Y. T. 11.

As less likely to be seen by our readers we quote here from a description by Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra of a Buddhist Tantra in 18 Chaps. :—In the 5th Chapter are detailed the characteristics and qualifications necessary for a neophite to undertake certain forms of secret worship, and among the practices enjoined which promote the attainment of perfection, debauchery of the most bestial character (not even excepting mothers, sisters and daughters) is reckoned as most essential, p. 261. *Nipalese Buddhist Literature.*

Of a Hindu Tantra (1331 in the Bikaner Catalogue) Dr. Mitra writes—"The worship is performed at night with wine, women and bestial rites." What otherwise could be expected when even in the *Mahanirvana Tantra*, we read that every male worshipper brings to the worship with him a female worshipper who is spoken of as the man's own *Sakti?* It matters not who she may be but the lower in the social scale it would appear the better, and "then," as we read in the Tantra, "having placed his own Sakti (the female representing the goddess Durga in Tantric worship) on a separate seat on his left, or seated on the same seat with her, the worshipper should place a charming vessel (by which to practice magic). The drinking cup should not be more than five *tolas* or less than three in weight. . . The Tantric women should not drink, but only smell it. . . The men should drink so long as their eyes do not roll and their mind is not agitated. . . Then holding the flowers offered in the worship of the goddess on his head and putting a mark of sandal between his too eye-brows, the intelligent worshipper should roam on this earth like a celestial." *Mahanirvana*, pp. 99-100, end of Chap. vi.

We conclude our extracts by a few more from the pages of the *Yogini Tantra* :—

"Kali is known in all the Shastras as the mother of the worlds. . . If a man is equal to me (Siva), or a woman to thee (Kali,) his mother is blessed." Y. T. 4.

"For perfection of knowledge, let him thoughtfully feed Brahmans and virgins." Y. T. 11.

Here is an account from the same source of an incident which we fear is typical of many under the temptations of the Tantric teaching, human nature being what it is. "One Bahlika, Kirni by name, virtuous and kindly, young, beautiful and attractive, ascetic and high-minded, went in her desire for sons to Kasi (Benares) and practised austerity, day and night, standing before Visvevara, at my (Siva's) door in the Mukti Mandapa (temple). Then Vana, the son of Bal, Mahakala, strong being the door keeper beheld and captivated her with garland of skulls, having the mad vesture of one exhilirated with wine, having assumed the ascetic vesture, became a shameless leader in passion. Then was born of Kirni a mighty Bhairava." Y. T. 43.

There is nothing in the above but what is compatible with the character borne in popular estimation of the so-called ascetics or Yogis or *Yatis* or *Sunnyasis* of Hinduism—men who profess to have in a special degree renounced the world and controlled their passions. Yet of even them it is said in the Tantra, "Maithuna is pronounced the highest material for *Yatis.*" Y. T. 21.

Of an *Avadhuta, i.e.,* "person washed or purified well—hence an ascetic who having renounced the world, has been purified by the performance of his expiatory rites)" it is said in the Y. T. 21,—" Apart from his mother's womb an Avadhuta Asrami may enjoy Maithuna with all wombs. One not a virgin should be repelled ; let him not repel a virgin, for by repelling a virgin arises danger to success. . . The practices of Avadhuta are all allowed in the case of a Sudra particularly with reference to his Maithuna. Avoiding Brahman, Kshatriya, and Vaisya women, let him wisely practise Maithuna, undertaken with reference to some deity. . . Maithuna is strongly advised even in the Avadhuta Asrama."

A good bit further on in the same Tantra, Siva informs Kali of some rather questionable experiences of his own. He tells her of "a beautiful Yogini (female Yogi), sprung from a Mleccha body." Of her he said—" To win me she did excessive austerity. . . By her austerity I was purchased, and fearlessness was given to her. She bore a son, Vinu, begotten of my virility. As the mother of Nandi is my wife, so that Yogini was considered my wife; as Bhringarita is my son, so was Vinu my own begotten. The kings of his descent will divert themselves ever with troops of divine damsels with beauty and youth as sport the Bhairavas." Y. T. 41.

To the same effect is the picture given to us at p. 45 of the same Tantra of the amusements and enjoyments of the Hindu divinities :—

" Having brought Rambhâ, Tilottamâ, Kancî, Kurangakshi, and Monoharâ, he taught them to dance with Rambhâ. Then all the courtezans chosen by him went, filled with delight. The bewitching one (Monoharâ) pleased Indra with divers ways and arrangements. Kausangi too was bewitched, being approached by the king of the gods, (saying) through their dance and song there will be excitement of desire. At thi point the heavenly courtezan Monaharâ . . . with her ki with delighted mind. She (Monaharâ) erring in Kamaru stumbled in song and dance. In that stumbling arose slow of desire on the part of those two, again. There upon, knowing her mind, Kansangî, wild with anger, said harshly to Monaharâ 'Having become a harlot, very depraved, thy mind stupefied with drink, so that thy thoughts have wandered to our amorous sport, ho! harlot, go to earth, and get a king for thy husband.' Hearing this cruel curse, issuing from the mouth of Kausangî, she, distraught, fell at Kausangî's feet. She lamented much, seizing her two feet repeatedly. Then spake Kausangî, 'having for 32 years on earth endured the curse, Monaharâ, thou shalt again attain well-being."

Our next extract from the Yogini Tantra introduces us to another phase of our subject.

"To the south of Ganga, seven bow-shots off, Bhagawan (Siva) sports in the great burning ground with troops of women" (Y. T. 109) reminding one of the great and well-known scene witnessed in the Auld Alloway Kirk by 'Tam O' Shanter,' as so graphically described by Burns, the Scottish bard.

We have hitherto dwelt chiefly on females of the human species. There remains that we should look for a few minutes n the Sakta Religion and females super-human or demoniacal, and their relation to witchcraft, so far as discoverable in the Tantras.

Our representation of the Sakta Religion and the Female Sex would want the life and soul and guiding spirit of both the Sakta Religion and the Female Sex if we left Kali out of consideration. This we now intend to supply by the Yogini Tantra's picture of her drawn professedly by none other than Siva himself, and set in the opening page of his book. As her worship, guided by the Sakta religion and the Tantric scriptures, has extended all over India from Kamrup in the N. E. to Malabar on the S.-W. we will also reproduce from the pages of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal her picture as penned by S. Appadorai Iyer and worshipped in the Malabar. I shall, however, give precedence to Siva's own representation of his terrible spouse given in the opening words of the *Yogini Tantra* :—" Her who is crane-like (*i.e.*, white), with rows of teeth resplendant as the beauty of lightning, having the effulgence of a smooth new cloud, sprung up in the rainy season, charming with rows of skull necklaces, with flowing hair, clothed in air (*i.e.*, naked) with lolling tongue, with dreadful voice, with three eyes all red, having the circle of her mouth oozing with crores and rores of moons, having a brilliant circle of crowns consisting the radiance of new moon *kalas* (digits into sixteen of which moon's monthly course is divided), with two corpses as ings, bedecked with various gems, having ear-ornaments sparkling with multitudes of sun-stones and moon-stones, girdled with thousands of dead men's hands, with smiling face, whose countenance is flecked with streams of blood, dripping from the corners of her mouth, whose four arms are adorned with sword, severed head, boons, and security, with great teeth, supreme and eternal, with blood-bedecked body, mounting upon the corpse of Siva, standing over Maha-Kala, having her left foot set upon the corpse and under her right, the world-distinguished one (Siva himself) . . . conspicuous with Yoginis full of hunger, with skulls in their hands, accompanied by females with faces flushed with wine, and dread-formed, great-voiced Bhairavas, hugely powerful, who, having seized up skeletons, are intent on shouts of victory, dancing and taken up with music, and always clothed in air; her who stands in the midst of burning-grounds, resorted to by Brahma and the rest."

In these words Kali is represented to us by her beloved husband in her milder and more gracious form.

The late Professor Max Müller who was always inclined to look with favour on everything Hindu and Indian could not bear Kali. He regarded her as non-Indian or rather non-Aryan. He regarded her as "decidedly non-Vedic in her conception," a conception originating in some "outlying half savage tribe." "I therefore," said he, "hold that neither Durga nor Siva can be looked upon as natural developments, not even as mere conceptions of Vedic deities. They seem inexplicable except as importations from non-Brahmanic neighbours or as adaptations of popular and vulgar deities by proselytizing Brahmans."

Mr. Moncure D. Conway, also specially interested in India and sympathetic towards its inhabitants, in his great work "Demonology and Devil Lore," classes Durga with the Demons or Devils rather than with the gods or goddesses. The Thugs "claimed that Kali left them one of her teeth for a pickaxe, her rib for a knife, her garment's hem for a noose, and wholesale murder for a religion. The uplifted right hand of the Demoness has been interpreted as intimating a divine purpose in the havoc around her, and it is possible that some such euphemism attached to the attitude before the Thug accepted it as his own benediction, from this highly-decorated personification of human cruelty."

Kali as seen and worshipped, as we have seen in Malabar, S. India, is described by Appadorai Iyer in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part III, No. 1, 1901, pp. 30-31; n assuredly a Missionary or even Christian periodical. He t us that neither Siva nor Kali is found in Malabar in t milder forms. He appears in "the grim form in whi decapitated Daksa, surrounded by his legions of Demons.* Similarly Parvati, instead of appearing in the milder form, appears as Kali or Durga, or Bhagavati, thirsting for blood. She is displayed with bending limbs and open hands, with fingers extended ; a serpent forms her girdle, and she appears in a state of nudity, except that a scanty cloth is round her loins ; her belly is attenuated and shrivelled ; her breasts pendent with long nipples ; a serpent circles her neck, and turning on her bosom projects its head to support her long rough protruding tongue ; her chin is peaked ; immense teeth and tushes are fixed in lipless gums ; her nostrils and eyes are distended, and snakes are knotted in the pendant lobes of her ears with their heads raised and with expanded hoods ; and her hair is stiffened out to enhance her frightfulness. Although human sacrifices have long since been prohibited, there is no doubt that they were formally offered. Now goats slaughtered on the last day of the annual festival . . . The deity, responsible for the weal or woe of cattle, is an incarnation of Sakti of Siva."

So also of the Tantric worship given to the other female divinities to which we have referred above, it is an imitation of that given to the spouse of Siva. M. Barth puts the facts to which we refer in the following form :—

"Below her in rank are arrayed her emanations, the *Saktis* of Vishnu, of Brahma, of Skanda, etc., (an order which is naturally altered in favour of Laksmi or of Radha in the small number of writings belonging to the class of Tantras which Vishnuism has produced) and a whole heirarchy, highly complex and as variable as complex of female powers, such as the *Mahamatris*, the Great Mothers, † personifications of the productive and nourishing powers of nature ; the Yoginis, the 'sorceresses,' whose interference is always violent and many other classes, almost all malignant, and whose favour is secured only at the expense of the most revolting observances. All this in combination with the male divinities goes to form the most outrageous group of divinities which man has ever conceived. Herself inconceivable in her supreme essence, the Mahâmâyâ, the Great Illusion, is worshipped under a thousand designations and invested in an infinite variety of forms. But these forms correspond, for the most part, to one of the aspects of her two-fold nature, *black* or *white*, benevolent or cruel ; and they constitute in this way two series of manifestations of the infinite energy, as it were two series of supreme goddesses, one series presiding more especially over the creative energies of life, the other representing rather those of destruction. To both a two-fold cultus is addressed, the confessed public cultus, the *Dakshina-châra* or "cultus of the right hand;" which, except in one particular, namely insistence on animal sacrifice in honour of Durga, Kali and other terrible forms of the great goddess, observes essentially the general usages of modern Hinduism; and the *Vâmâ-chara*, the 'cultus of the left hand,' the observances of which have always been kept more or less secret. Incantations, imprecations, magic, and common sorcery play a prominent part in this last, and many of these strange ceremonies have no other object than the acquisition of the different *siddhis* or supernatural powers . . . Nowhere have they found a soil so congenial as in Saivism and the cultus of the Saktis."

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* *See* I. E. R., April 1902, pp. 392, 414, 415.

In a work before us *Matri Durma* (the worship of the mother) the or represents the world as the creation and manifestation of a female ity whom he styles *The Mother*, whose divinity seems based upon indu idea of *Adya Sakti*, the original Sakti.

Many of these rites especially such as were associated with human sacrifice, the taking of human life, and robbery, as in Thugism and dacoity, have been put down by the strong hand of the police. This is not the case, however, even now, with those coarsely sensual and obscene observances which form the other side of these secret cults, and the indecent regulations in regard to which the Tantras expound with minuteness. The use of animal food and spirituous liquors, indulged in to excess, is the rule in these strange ceremonies, in which *Sakti* is worshipped in the person of a naked woman, and the proceedings terminate with the carnal copulation of the initiated, each couple representing Bhairava and Bhairavi (Siva and Devi), and becoming thus for the moment identified with them. This is the *Sri-chakra*, 'the holy circle,' or the *Purnabhishêka*, 'the complete consecration,' the essential act, or rather foretaste of salvation, the highest rite of this delirious mysticism.

It will thus be seen that the worship given to the female divinities in the Tantras is not to be confounded with the customary homage rendered by all the Hindu sects to the wives of the gods whether Vedic or otherwise. In the case of the Saktas and of the Tantrikas generally it forms a religion by itself totally distinct and different from anything found in either the Vedas or Puranas, though something like its germs or seeds, subsequently developed, may be discovered in some older Shastras, Vedic and Puranic. Yet the worship, religio or cultus as such is totally distinct from either the mo ancient or more modern phases of Hinduism. It is uniq

In the *Kamadhenu Tantra*, Siva is represented as worship the fifty letters of the Bengali Alphabet as young mai See the July, 1902, number of the *Indian Evangelical Revi*

And though it must be admitted that there is a wide gulf between the right hand Saktas and the left hand known as the Kaulas or Vamacharis, yet in the worship given to Kali and Durga, they are one, and quite distinct from all other Hindu sects.

In bringing this paper to a close I may be allowed to draw attention, as a fact in comparative religion, to the prominence and importance given to the female sex, to the emblems of generation and to sexual enjoyment, in the idea and worship of the Supreme Being or divinities in the Sakta religion. Contrast all this with the complete absence of such from the idea and worship of Jehovah in the religion and scriptures of the Jews. Closely related to that is the emphasis put on the motherhood of God, in the Sakta religion in contrast with the fatherhood in the Jewish scriptures.

It is interesting to note that long before the rise of M. Comte's Religion of Humanity in pre-Christian times, women were held by the German tribes, as here by the Saktas in high respect and were believed to have something divine in their mental or spiritual faculties. 'Very many of their women they regarded,' we are told, 'in the light of prophetesses, and when superstitious fear was in the ascendant, even of *goddesses.* History has preserved the names of some of these Teutonic *deities.*' In Christian times (thirteenth to seventeenth centuries) the witches were on the other hand in Europe looked upon as old, lame, blear-eyed, pale; foul, and full of wrinkles. poor, sullen, superstitious, lean and deformed, showing melancholy in their faces, to the horror of all that saw them—the very opposite of the proverbial 'Lancashire Witches,' whose spells and charms were those of natural youth and beauty, and of the young Kamrup witches, "whose powers of fascination practised in years gone by on unwary travellers made them forget their homes, wives and children for these Kamrup witches."

There are one or two other points distinguishing the Sakta witches from their European sisters in Christian lands, with the naming of which I shall bring this paper to a close. As in the profession of spiritual teachers or *gurus*, their sex did not disqualify them from the profession of sorcery or witchcraft, yet the number who betook themselves to it constituted but a small fraction of the whole profession, among the Saktas; it was altogether different in the West where the roportion of the sexes was completely reversed, the wizards eing very few in number compared with the witches.

Again, in the West the profession was regarded as criminal [illegible] its members were persecuted to the death by Church and [illegible]te. In this persecution many thousands of poor miserable women were burnt alive under charges of practising witchcraft. All over India the practice was regarded as honourable and instructions are given in the Tantras as to the ways and means of practising it for the benefit of royal personages as well as for their less-favoured subjects.

K. S. MACDONALD, D.D.

ART. VIII.—THE SUPPRESSION OF HUMAN SACRIFICES AMONG THE KHONDS.

MR. RUSSELL, senior member of the Madras Board of Revenue, and subsequently member of the Council of the Governor of Fort St. George, who rendered such distinguished service to Government by repressing the insurrectionary outbreaks in the Districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam, brought to the notice of Government in 1836 the existence of the rite of human sacrifice and of female infanticide among the Khonds; and prevailed upon the Government to take measures for procuring the abolition of these barbarous rites. The result was that operations were conducted by the Local and Supreme Governments, for the suppression of these rites, from 1837—1854, and over 2,000 victims were rescued. A history of these operations is contained in the *Selection from the Records of the Government of India, No. 5* (1854); and the information contained therein as to the manners and customs of the Khonds is of so interesting a nature from the point of view of Anthropology that it deserves to be made public.

These remarks will be dealt with under seven heads:—(1) The limits of the country over which the rite of human sacrifice and female infanticide extended. (2) An account of the Khonds who practised these rites. (3) Origin and causes of these sacrifices. (4) Mode of sacrifice. (5) Steps taken for the suppression of the sacrifices. (6) The number of victims rescued and disposed of. (7) The ultimate result of the operations.

I. *The limits of the country over which these rites extended.*

In 1836 the country over which the Khonds were scattered extended from the north of the Mahanadi to very nearly as far south as the Godavari. With respect to the revolting practice of *Meriah* (*victim*) sacrifice, known also as *Toki Pujah* or *Nariboli,* and to female infanticide the region may be divided as follows:—

(1) The tract of hill country included in the zemindaries of Gumsur, Boad, and Duspulla, the area of which was estimated at 2,500 square miles. Its inhabitants offered *Meriah* sacrifices, but did not practise female infanticide.

(2) A strip of country connected with the zemindaries of oradah and Suradah, about 400 square miles in extent, in ich neither rite was practised.

3) A tract of 2,000 square miles included in the zemindaries oradah, Suradah, Bodogoda and Chumia Kinedi, where the ice of female infanticide alone was universal.

(4) In a portion of the Bodogoda zemindary, the extent of which was 400 square miles, these barbarous rites were not practised.

(5) The region near the south-western frontier of Gumsur, about 2,000 square miles in extent, in which the *Meriah* sacrifice alone was practised.

II. *A descriptive account of the Khonds who practised these infamous rites, and of their religion and polity.*

(*a*) The Khonds are divided by Captain Macpherson into two classes, the Benniah and the Maliah, which pass insensibly into each other. The former inhabited a lower range of the ghauts and had adopted to a considerable extent Hindu manners and customs. The following passage from Mr. Russell's Report to Government contains an interesting description of the Khonds:—"Their language differs from that of all other classes, and is understood by very few lowlanders. The women, as far as we were able to judge from the few we saw, are very plain; the men remarkably well-made and active, of a good height, and, generally speaking, good looking. The only dress worn by the latter is a cloth bound round the middle in such a way as to make the end hang down behind, about as low as the flaps of a coat. Their hair is tied in a knot on the temple or forehead, which they are fond of ornamenting with a band of red woollen cloth; or if they cannot get that, with cloth of any other colour or even paper. Every man carries an axe, and the far greater part of them, a bow and arrows also. Not only every tribe, but every village, has its chief chosen, not from any hereditary claim, but because he is the best soldier, or the best spokesman of the day. Like other nations, they have their feuds and frequently war with their neighbours. Head for head is their universal law. Their love of liquor and tobacco is excessive. The fruit of the Ippa tree affords them a very strong spirit, and a palm peculiar to their country yields a toddy which, though pleasant when fresh, is extremely intoxicating in a fermented state."

This description is more applicable to the Maliah Khonds than to the Benniah Khonds, for Captain Macpherson (the Agent for the Suppression of *Meriah* Sacrifices) says of the latter:—"They marry exclusively in their class; but maintain their blood pure, avoiding marriages with persons of the same tribe. They adopt the Hindu dress and mode of building and speak the Ooria language. They abstain religiously from th cultivation of turmeric, the staple product of the Maliah indu try and the most valuable crop of their soil. They excha the Khond for the Hindu plough. They tread out their g not with their own feet, but by those of their cattle. The milk and ghee which are abhorred by the Maliah Khonds, and they forego as barbarous, the practice of dancing in which the latter delight."

(*b*) "In their religion," says Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Madras, "we find traces of the primitive elemental worship of the Vedas before it was overlaid by the superstructure which now almost conceals it from our eyes, as well as from those of the generality of the Hindus themselves." The Maliah Khonds held that there is but one Supreme Being self-existing, the source of good, and creator of the universe, of the inferior gods and of man. This divinity, which they styled *Boore Pennu* (god of light) or *Bella Pennu* (sun-god), created for himself a consort—*Tari Pennu* (earth-goddess)—the source of evil, whose wrath could only be propitiated by the *Meriah* sacrifice. The Benniah Khonds, on the other hand, believed that the sun-god and the earth-god are co-equal "forming an inseparable dual." These gods are not malevolent and delight not in cruel sacrifices. Hence the Benniahs abhorred the inhuman ritual. These two classes of Khonds like all the primitive races believed in witchcraft and sorcery.

(*c*) Each Khond village, according to Mr. Russell, had its own chief, but the Khond tribes acknowledged to a certain extent the authority of the zemindàrs, in whose territories they were included. As observed by Captain Macpherson, the relation between the zemindars and the Khond tribes was founded upon a single common want:—"Mutual aid against aggression was its first condition." The chiefs of the tribes assisted at the investiture of the zemindars, who, in their turn, recognised the authority of the "heads of the primitive race." The Khonds made also offerings of produce; they assembled at the Dusserah festival to eat the buffaloes offered in sacrifice at the Hindu capital; and they dragged the cars at the feast of Jaggannath.

III. *Origin and causes of these sacrifices.*

(i) It has been already explained that the *Meriah* sacrifice had its origin in the belief in the existence of a malevolent being, the source of all evil, whose wrath it was necessary to propitiate by the sacrifice of nothing less than a human victim. Captain Macpherson reported to Government, on 24th April 1842, that the Khond tribes took counsel together and stated him the following reasons, which they considered unassail- le in reason and in justice for observing "the great and vital e":—(*a*) Because the rite had been practised from the inning. (*b*) Because it had been sanctioned by the Rajahs. ecause it was essential to the existence of mankind in and to the continuance of the species. (*d*) Because it was essential to the productive powers of nature by which men live. (*e*) Because it was necessary for the gods for food. (*f*) Because the victims belonged to those who offered them, having been bought with the fruits of their labour upon the soil. (*g*) And finally because the gods had positively ordained the rite.

(ii) The practice of female infanticide is accounted for (*a*) by the usages which prevailed among the Khonds, in connection with the property involved in marriage contracts; (*b*) by the very peculiar ideas which existed respecting the relation of the sexes; and (*c*) by the general poverty of the Khonds who could not provide food for their children.

The Khond bridegroom gave *Seddee* or consideration for his wife to her father, and in case the wife quitted the husband he was entitled to the return of the consideration. If another man married her the father had the right to recover the same amount from him. Extreme license existed with respect to the marriage tie so that a woman could quit her husband at pleasure, and no man who was without a wife could refuse to receive any woman who chose to enter his hut to become its mistress. Much trouble and vexation arose out of such matrimonial charge, for considering the rule regarding *Seddee* a daughter was any thing but welcome. Hence "it became customary to destroy female infants, by exposing them in the jungle ravines, immediately after their birth."

IV. *Mode of Meriah Sacrifice.*

The *Meriah* (or the victim) to be immolated could be of any caste, sex or age, but grown men were the most esteemed because the most costly; and children used to be purchased and reared for years with the family of the person who intended to offer this sacrifice. The victims were treated with kindness, and never kept in restraint till such time as they were to be offered.

The victims who usually belonged to the Khond tribe or to the tribe of Pawnas (whose occupation was said to be "weaving, trade and theft") were sold by their parents or near relatives, or kidnapped by the Pawnas, and sold to the *Muttahs* (or districts) which required a victim. We find from Colonel Campbell's Report to Government, dated 17th March 1849, that each *Meriah* cost from five to forty *gunties* each, a buffalo, bullock, pig, goat, a brass pot, being each reckoned a *guntie*; "thus when the bargain is struck for twenty-five *gunties* five of each the animals and brass pots are paid," which, at the lowest va ation, would come to Rs. 62-8-0.

Mr. Russell reported that the ceremony was performed a expense of, and in rotation by, certain *Muttahs*, composi community and connected together from local circumstances; and that besides the periodical sacrifices, others were performed by single *Muttahs* and even by individuals to avert any threatened calamity. As stated above, the sacrifices were generally offered to obtain from the deity favorable seasons and crops. The ceremony was always performed on the Sunday either preceding or following the Pongal feast.

It must be mentioned that a *Meriah* sacrifice was never offered in any village oftener than once in twelve years, nor was there ever more than a single victim.

The mode of sacrifice differed in details in different parts of Khondistan; but the following extract from the report made to Government on 24th November 1837, by Mr. Arbuthnot, the Acting Collector of Vizagapatam, is sufficient to show how the barbarous ceremony was conducted:—"The man who is destined for the sacrifice is immediately carried before the god and a small quantity of rice, coloured with saffron, is put upon his head. The influence of this is said to prevent his attempting to escape even though set at liberty. It would appear, however, that from the moment of his seizure till he is sacrificed, he is kept in a continued state of stupefaction or intoxication. He is allowed to wander about the village to eat and drink any thing he may take a fancy to, or even to have any connection with any of the women whom he may meet. On the morning set apart for the sacrifice he is carried before the idol in a state of intoxication. One of the villagers officiates as a priest," called (*Zanee* or *Junna*), "who cuts a small hole in the stomach of the victim, and with the blood that flows from the wound the idol is besmeared; then the crowds from the neighbouring villages rush forward, and he is literally cut to pieces; each son who is so fortunate as to procure it carries away a morsel of the flesh and presents it to the idol at his own village."

V. To Mr. Russell is due, as has already been stated, the credit of bringing to the notice of Government the existence of *Meriah* sacrifice and female infanticide; but in pleading that speedy measures should be taken to suppress these barbarous rites, he said, "we must not allow the cruelty of the practice to blind us to the consequences of too rash a zeal in our endeavours to suppress it. The superstition of ages cannot be eradicated in a day." The Government therefore did not resort to military force nor indeed any violent measures to icate these infamous customs. The measures taken by rnment to bring about the desired reform were as fol- —(1) routes and passes through the wild tracts were ; (2) fairs and marts for encouraging commercial rse between the hills and the plains were established; dly intercourse with the Khonds was cultivated;

(4) the victims were rescued, and the females among them married to the parties who had purchased them; (5) village schools were established.

It must be mentioned that in 1845 the Supreme Legislature passed an Act empowering the Governor-General to place in the hands of *one* officer to be called the "Agent for the Suppression of *Meriah* sacrifices, the entire control of the tracts inhabited by the Khond tribes, situated in the Bengal and Madras Presidencies. Thus, in the words of the Court of Directors (Despatch dated 8th April 1846) "unity of action (was) secured, which is essential to the successful issue of measures directed to the same object."

VI. From the statements appended to the *Selections from the Records* we find that, from 1846—1853, 1,260 *Meriahs* (victims) were rescued. Out of these, 247 were given in marriage to eligible persons, 200 sent to missionary schools at Berhampore and Balasore, 167 given for adoption to persons of character, 306 settled as ryots, 83 supported by the State, and 12 employed in the public service. Of the remainder 148 died, 77 deserted, and 21 supported themselves by labour.

Besides the 1,260 *Meriahs* rescued, 813 *Poosias* were rescued and registered. The following short extract from the *Selections* tells us what the term *Poosias* means:—"A large proportion of the victims rescued . . . . were women with young families which they had borne to the parties purchasing them," and these women and children were liable to be offered up in sacrifice; the Government rescued them and compelled the purchaser to adopt them as his wife and children.

VII. What then was the result of the *Meriah* operations as whole ? The Court of Directors in their Despatch, dated 14th June 1854, say—"Viewing the *Meriah* operations as whole, they have been highly successful, and are creditable the officers concerned; nor is it in measures of repression alone that we see cause for present satisfaction and future hope.

It is obvious that the germs of ultimate civilisation have been planted in the country, and we may entertain a confident hope that the advance of the population towards a higher social condition will be in an accelerated ratio of progress."

BENIGUM RAMA RAU, B.A., B.L.

ART. IX.—VERNACULAR LITERATURE IN THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

(*a*) *Literature.*

THE number of publications catalogued during the year was 1,565 as compared with 1,762. The decrease occurred wholly among works classified as poetical or religious.

(1) SANSKRIT PUBLICATIONS.

These publications comprised no original works, but were exclusively editions or re-editions of old texts, belonging, for the greater part, to Philosophy or Grammar. *The Pandit,* the monthly journal of the Benares Sanskrit College, contained the continuation of the translation, by the Principal of the College, of the Vedantic work called *Siddhántalésa.* *The Chowkhambhá Series* continued the publication of several texts begun last year and gave the first instalments of other important new works, among them being the commentary on the Vedanta Sutras, by Vijnana Bhikshu.

(2) HINDI LITERATURE.

Poetry, Drama, and Fiction.

The most important publications of the year were Hindi novels. The largest works were only translations—*Bhayának Bhraman,* or "Over Africa in a Balloon," and *Sansár Chakra* from the Bengali original of Bábu Prafulla Chandra Mukerji.

(3) HINDI PUBLICATIONS (*including Biography, Language, Philosophy and Miscellaneous.*)

The most important work on philosophy was *Gurunának Súrdaya* in two volumes, translated from Gurmukki into Hindi under the orders of Rája Vijaya Chandra of Amritsar. *Bháskara Prákasa,* by Sowami Tulsi Ram, a follower of the Arya Samáj, is a polemical work of several hundred pages, in reply to the *Dayánanda Timira Bháskara* of Pandit Jwalanath. It is written in what would be designated the high Hindi of the Pandits. *Dayánad Mata Vidravan,* by the late Bhawani Prasad, is based on the *Dayánand Timira Bháskara* just mentioned. *Avatár Mimansa,* by Pandit Ambika Datta Vyasa, is a collection of lectures on the incarnations of the deity. [illegible]e subject has been treated from the standpoint of a Hindi [illegible]rer speaking to a Hindu audience. The language is high [illegible]i. *Navaniddha,* edited and translated by Pandit Brajnath [illegible]acharya, is a collection of tracts, chiefly of a Tantric [illegible] *[illegible]iddha Sankara Tantra,* edited by Pandit Syama Sundar [illegible]ari and Pandit Kanahya Lal, is a short work of the same kind. *Santi Prasnávali* is a Jain work treating on the art of foretelling events. *Sri Maheswara Prakása*, by Thákur Maheswar Bakhsha Singh, is a poetical treatise on a variety of occult subjects. *Kantaka Ratnákara*, Part I, by Harishankar Sastra, claims to be an explanation of sleight-of-hand tricks and magical performances. *Sad Vichára*, by Munshi Ramji Mal, is a translation of "Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects," by the late Mr. Chester Macnaghten, M.A., and is now used as a text-book in schools of these Provinces. *Páti Vrata Dharma Prakásha*, published by the editor of the *Maheswari Journal*, Hápur, Meerut Swami Press, is one of a series of publications intended to reform the Vaisa community. This number is specially for the benefit of Vaisa women. The teachings are drawn from the Hindu Shastras. *Stri Dharma Prakasiká*, by Kasiram Varma of Peshawar, is a publication also meant for female readers. It has a chapter on cookery and gives recipes for the ailments of women. "*What is our duty in this World?*" Part I, by Swami Sridhara Tirtha, is a small book of forty-seven pages, containing advice for the use of seekers after virtue. *Kartavyá-kartavya Sástra*, by Narayana Pande, B.A., Muzaffarnagar, published by the Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha, is written on the model of Professor Blakie's book on self-culture. *Vyákhyana-Ságara*, published by Pandit Buttu Lal Sarma, is a collection of essays and lectures on the orthodox tenets of the Hindu religion. At the end of the book is appended a Sanskrit Vedantic composition with a Hindi translation. *Tatwa-Vetta-rishi-ki-kathá*, by Pandit Kuparam Sarma, is a story in which the writer introduces the founders and advocates of the different schools of Hindu philosophy, each one of whom advocates his favourite views. *Naishadha-Charita-Charchá*, by Pandit Mahavira Parsad Dwivedi, is essay on one of the standard epic poems of India. *Jay Cadasat-Vichára*, by Pandit Sridhara Pathaka, is a small bo of poems of a practical kind. The author reproduces some of Longfellow's best ideas. *The Padmá bharan of Padmákara*, published by the editor, *Bhárata Jiwan*, Benares, is a short treatise on rhetoric, by the poet Padmákara. *Kheti-Vâdi*, by Pyarelal, *Zamindár*, is a book on husbandry. *Haddiyan ke baithalne ki pustaka*, by Pandit Narayan Das, is a small treatise on the dislocation of joints, which gives advice with regard to the remedies to be employed when such accidents occur. *Dhoron ki bimáriyon ká iláj* treats of the diseases of cattle. *Saraswati* is a monthly journal conducted under auspices of the Káshi Nágri Pracharini Sabha. The lang is high Hindi. *Bhásha Chándriká* is another monthly jo published at Benares. The language of the Bháshá Cha is somewhat highflown and pedantic.

(4) URDU PUBLICATIONS (*excluding Religion, Arts and Science*).

Novels.—Among the Urdu publications of the year the most numerous are novels. They deal with a great variety of subjects. Some of them are mere translations of English novels, others modifications of them. There are others that show more originality. *Dhoká yá Tilism-i-Fánús* is an Urdu translation of one of Reynolds' novels. *The Firdaus-i-Barín and Aiyám-i-Arab* are from the pen of the Urdu novelist Maulvi Abdul Halím Sharar. Both of them are historical novels. The former gives an account of the rise and fall of a sect of Muhammadans called *Bátiniah;* the latter contains a description of the social life and manners of the Arabs at the time just preceding the rise of Islám. *Líla and Tára* are Urdu translations of two Bengáli novels. Their object purports to be to make the public acquainted with the way in which the detective police does its work. *Lál Kaptán* gives an account of the late Turko-Russian War and narrates a love story. Among historical novels may be mentioned the *Chín va Jápán, Jang-i-Transvaal,* 1899, *Jangi-i-Haft Rozah* and *Nával-i-Armenia.* The first gives an account of the late war between China and Japan; the second narrates the incidents of the Anglo-Boer War; the third is a description of the late Turko-Grecian War; and the last explains the origin and ultimate end of the disturbances that lately took place in Armenia. Of these the first three are from the pen of Saiyid Waláyat Husain, and the fourth from that of Maulvi Saiyid Saíd Ahmad.

Drama.—*Nátak Kushta-i-Khanjar* is an adaptation of "Othello." It is not a literal translation, but the plot and main features of the story are reproduced. *Chálák Vakíl* is a translation of a drama originally composed in the Turkish language. It purports to delineate the ways in which pleaders sometimes unscrupulously procure false witnesses, deceive courts of justice and deprive people of their legal rights.

History and Geography.—Among the works on history *Táríkh-i-Turkán-i-Rúm* and *Sair-i-Kashmír* are the productions of the historian Mirza Muhammad Kázim Barlás. The former is a brief history of the Ottoman Empire from its beginning down to 1574 A.D., and the latter is the fifth volume of the History of India intended to be completed in twelve volumes. This volume treats of the History of Kashmír. *Hasan-vin-Sabbáh* contains the history of the rise and fall of the Muhammadan sect *Bátinia,* together with the biography of Hasan-bin-*Sabbáh,* one of the most noted personages of the ct. This work shows research. *Ulama-i-Salaf* is one of the rks of what may be called the Nadwa literary school. The or endeavours to show how far advanced, in point of morality and social virtue, the Muhammadan learned men of bygone days were. *Muhásarah-i-Trái* is a translation of an English work which gives the substance of Homer's Iliad. *Fasánah-i-Birtánia* is a work on the History of England. It is the first original work on this subject in Urdu literature. The author commences from the earliest records of life in Great Britain and comes down almost to the end of the nineteenth century. In addition to the history of the country, the book contains remarks on the social condition, temper, and character of the nation. The commerce of Great Britain and many departments of the Government are also described in detail. *Hálát-i-Transvaal* is a translation of the travels of Captain Francis Younghusband, C.I.E. It contains, along with the history of the late Transvaal War, remarks on the geography of the Transvaal, the origin, the social condition and the character of the Boers, and a map of their country.

Medicine.—There are only three works on medicine. *Tarjama-i-Qánún-i-Shekh* is a translation of the fourth volume of a large book on the subject in Arabic by Bú Ali Sena.

Philosophy.—*Niyáya Darshan* is an Urdu translation of the second volume of a Sanskrit treatise on philosophy. Sanskrit words and phrases are freely used in the translation. *Shaháb-i-Sáqib*, by Saiyid Mahdi Ali, a Deputy Collector, is a book which treats of theology as based upon philosophy, and discusses the fundamental principles admitted in all the different forms of the Shemitic religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islám.

Essays.—Among the essays *Káinát* is a work composed by M. Muhammad Sajjád Husain of Kasmandi, at present in the service of the Nizám's Government. It represents in an allegorical form the condition of the world, and the progress of man, from the Creation to the Day of Judgment.

(5) URDU AND HINDI PUBLICATIONS *dealing with Religion, Arts, and Science.*

Ish Upanishad.—This Urdu translation of the Ish Upanishad has been done byPandit Kripa Ram of Bulandshahr. *Áinah-i-Haqiqat* professes to be a translation of a book found in the possession of a dervish. The book preaches Sufiism, and is pantheistic in its teachings. According to it riches and poverty, life and death, day and night, are all manifestations of the same being, and all religions are true in their own way.

Daláil-i-Fazáil-ul-Islám (three volumes) is from the pen of Sheikh Abdur Raúf. The first volume describes the advantages of health, temperance, cleanliness, etc., and defends som of the social customs and usages prevailing among th Muhammadans, such as divorce, polygamy, widow remarria and so forth. The second volume is mainly an apology for religion of Muhammad. It gives an exhaustive historical account of the Qurán and its compilation. The third volume shows that a prophet was necessary, and that Muhammad was the last and the greatest prophet. The author freely quotes European writers on Muhammadanism. *Auliá-ul-Muslimín* describes the characteristics of a true dervish, and points out that contentment, the possession of sound judgment, and a thorough knowledge of the Qurán, differentiate a true devotee from a false one. *Rahbar-i-Jannat* contains an account of the various ceremonies observed by the Muhammadans. Full ceremonial directions are given regarding marriage, widow remarriage, divorce, etc., and the author prescribes a number of magical formulas to be used for the purpose of averting the various mishaps of life. *Khair-ul-Kalám* is a biographical publication, containing the lives of Muhammadan saints. *Safínat-ul-Buka* is written by Saiyid Záhid Husain with a view to bring back to memory the days of Imam Husain the martyr. Of the commentaries on the Qurán two may be noticed: *Núr-i-Mubín* in an exhaustive commentary on Sura Yásín, written by Muhammad Askari of Kanauj. The other is *Tafsír-i-Mawáhib-ur-Rahmán*, by Saiyid Amír Ali, who has collated the opinions of the more celebrated interpreters of the Qurán.

Zinat-ul-Majlis is an anti-Sunni publication, by Muhammad Husain. *Tárikh-ul-Anbia*, *Volume* 3, *Part* I, by a convert to the Shiah faith, Sheikh Ahmad of the Deoband, is written in a calm, dispassionate tone.

Most of the Hindi publications, like the Urdu, are of a controversial nature. *Yawan Mat Pariksha* is an attempt on the part of an Arya Samajist to refute the objections raised by Muhammadans against Hinduism. The author takes his stand on the Vedas, and his object is to establish their superiority to other religious books. *Ishwar Prápti-ká-Upaya*, by Pandit Ganesh Prasad Sarma, is a collection of religious exhortations, gathered from the Upanishads, the Mahabharata, and the Purans. *Jiva Bichár* is a discourse on the soul, written by the author of the above book (Ishwar Prápti).

In this volume he preaches the doctrine of transmigration. The *Manu Smriti*, translated into Hindi by Pandit Tulsi Ram Sharma, is a carefully-written treatise. *Sanátan Dharm Darpana*, by Pandit Ram Sarup Sarma, is a book treating of the various rites and ceremonies prevalent among the Hindus. *Bhagwat Bachanámrit*, by Sita Ram Sarma, may be divided [illegible]to two parts. The first part contains a chronological list of [illegible]e *rishis* of Ajudhia, with a description of the shrine there. [illegible] second half of the book is merely a Hindi version of the [illegible]th chapter of the Bhagwad Gita, interspersed with Hindi verse. *The Bairágya Sataka* of Appayaya Dikshit has been translated into Hindi by Pandit Ram Sarup Sarma, an appreciative student of the doctrine of Renunciation. *Kavír Ashtáng Yog*—Is a book in verse, and treats of the principles of *Yog* and *Vedánt* as interpreted and adopted by Kavir and his followers. The volume is divided into three parts, the first two being in the form of a dialogue between Dharma Das and Satguru, and the third between Sukrit and Yogjit. The book aims at teaching *gyán* (or spiritual knowledge), by which *mukti* (or salvation) can be obtained. *Makhzan-i-Sanat-o-Hirfat*, by Muhammad Qamar-uz-Zamán, is a treasury of practical receipts. It shows how to prepare various kinds of oils, varnishes, inks; how to repair watches, to paint on crystals, etc.

(6) ENGLISH PUBLICATIONS.

The English publications of the year were, as usual, of a very miscellaneous kind.

"*A defence of the Urdu language and character*" is a pamphlet issued by the Urdu Defence Association, containing a somewhat lengthy statement. "*Solutions of controversial Hindu Problems*" is a reprint of letters addressed by a Vakíl of the High Court of Allahabad to the *Pioneer*, the *Amrita Bazár Patriká*, and other daily prints. Theosophy was presented in its metaphysical and popular aspects by Mrs. Besant in two tracts entitled "*What Theosophy is*" and "*Man's place and functions in nature.*" On the metaphysical side the writer claims to start from "ancient hidden wisdom," by which seems to be meant the various opinions of the Upanishads, and to which it is sought to give more definite meaning in terms of modern thought and experience. On its practical side Theosophy is declared to be a religion of love. "*An Indian District, by A District Officer,*" is a statistical work of general interest. "*Hinduism, Ancient and Modern,*" by Rai Bahádur Lála Baij Nath, B.A., Fellow of the University of Allahabad, and "*The Divine Wisdom of Indian Rishis,*" by Swami Shivgan Chand, are both works written from the standpoints of renovators of Hinduism as a social institution, and the writers of both endeavour to expound the Hindu philosophies. The writer of the first is specially interested in the reform of the Kayastha community.

(7) ARABIC PUBLICATIONS.

Pára Qurán Sharíf is the ninth out of thirty equal portions into which the Muhammadans have divided the Qurán. It is printed with two interlinear translations, one in Persian an the other in Urdu. There are also notes at the head of ea page in Urdu and notes on the variety of readings.

Usvate Hasanahfíma sabata bis-sunnah is a work of sixty-three pages long, devoted to proving that it is not binding, though it is better, to have a turban on one's head while saying one's prayers according to Muhammadan doctrine. *Tazíb-ul-Aqáid* is an Urdu translation of an Arabic work named *Sharh-i-Aqáidi Nasafi*, a guide to the Muhammadan, or rather to the Sunni, doctrines of the Muhammadan religion. The original work was written by a famous author, Muhammad of Nasaf, a town in Túrán in Persia, who died at Samarqand (461—537 A.H.) about seven centuries ago. This work was commented on by Sád-ud-din, another author of Taftázán in Persia. It is the latter whose work has been translated into Urdu only lately by Maulvi Muhammad Najm-ul Gani Khan of Rámpur. *Lamat-ul-Islám*—Is. a selection of traditions of the Prophet Muhammad by Háji Muhammad Ismáil Khan of Datauli, Aligarh. They treat of the Prophet's sayings regarding the social life that a Muhammadan is expected to adopt. The text is written with interlineary translation into Urdu. *Sharh-ul-Viqáyah* is a well-known Arabic work on Hanafi doctrine, by the author Ubai-dulláh Ibn-i (son of) Masúd (son of) Mahmúd, who died 1349 A.D. It is said to have been accepted throughout the Muhammadan Hanafi world as one of the most authoritative works on legal doctrines of the Hanafi sect. Both the Viqáyah and Sharh-ul-Viqáyah are used for elementary instruction in the Muhammadan colleges. This volume of the work contains chapters on Sales; Exchange; Security; Transfer of Power; Business of a Judge; Evidence; the Office of an Agent; Law suits; Confession; Agreement of the contending parties; Commission; Trust; Lending or Borrowing; Grants; Hire; and Rent, etc. There are fifteen chapters in all. *Majmuah Farhus Samá* (or correctly *Majmúa-e-Rasáil Arbaah*) is a collection of four pamphlets. Each of these pamphlets is in Arabic, and discusses whether a Muhammadan may hear singing and music. They unanimously decide that he may do so. The first is named *Farhul Asmá birakhs-is-Samá*, by Muhammad, son of Ahmad of Tunis, who lived early in the present century. The second is by Muhammad, son of Ali of Shoukan in Yaman (Arabia the happy). He lived in the last portion of the eighteenth century and died early in the nineteenth. The name of his work is *Ibtál-i-Dávil Ijmá ala Tahrím-i mutlaq-is Samá*. The third is by Imám Muhammad Gazál, born at Gazál, a cottage in the suburbs of Tús in Persia. e was author of treatises, large and small, on science and reli- n. He was born in the year 1058 A.D. and died 1111 A.D., d 55 lunar years. The name of his work now noticed is *bu Banádiq-il-Ulama fítakfír-i man yuharrim-us-Samá*. The work is by Isa Abur-Rúh, son of Abdur-Rahím, who e Qázi or the chief judge of Gujrát in India, and lived about a century and-a-half ago. He gave no name to his pamphlet. *Al-Hizbul Azam, with Urdu Translation,* is a collection of prayers derived chiefly from the Qurán and Hadís, composed by Mulla Ali Qári of Mecca, and divided into sever parts, to be read by the pious Muhammadans on the seven day of the week. *Miráh-ul-Arváh* is composed by Ahmad ibn-i Ali who lived about 300 years ago. It is said to be looked upon as one of the authoritative works on Arabic etymology, and is in common use among the Arabic scholars in Afghánistán and the neighbouring countries. *Fath-ul-Mubín, Tunbíh-ul-Vah-hábiín, Dobús-ul-Muqallidín, Fauz-ul-Muhaqqiqín,* are controversial works between the Wahábi and non-Wahábi sects among the Sunnis. The points under discussion are chiefly concerning the manner in which prayers should be performed, and the necessity or not of following the doctrines of one of the four Imáms. The controversy in these books is chiefly between the Hanafis of India and the so-called Wahábis. The work under review is in support of the Hanafi doctrine. It is really written in Urdu, though it contains numerous quotations from Arabic works. The author is Maulvi Muhammad Mansúr Ali of Moradabad, still living. *Sunan-i Ibn-i Májahmaa Sharh-i Miftah-ul Hájah* is one of six authentic collections of the traditions of the Arabian Prophet Muhammad, with a commentary on the margin. The original work is by Abdulláh, son of Májah, resident of Qazwín in Persia, who lived about a thousand years ago, and the commentary is by Muhammad Ibn-i Abdulláh, an author still living in India. *Sunan-i-Abi Hanífah* is a collection of the traditions of the Prophet, by Imám Azám Nomán-Ibn-i Sábit Abú Hanífah, with copious marginal notes by Muhammad Hassan, a Muhammadan Jew of Sambhal, Moradabad, in India. *Jámi-ut-Tirmizi maa Shamáil-ut-Tirmizi* is also one of six authentic collections of the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad, by Abú Isa Muhammad-Ibn-i Isa, of Tirmiz in Persia. To this work Shamáil-i Tirmizi, with annotations, has been appended. The Sham-aíl contains only traditions descriptive of the appearance and the life of the prophet. *Safínat-ul-Balágat* is an Arabic selection by Muhammad Zamán Khan of Shábjahánpur, who was assassinated about 25 years ago at Hyderabad, where he is buried. *Minháj-ul-Miráj* is a commentary on Maárij-ul-Ulúm, a small work on logical principles, by Mulla Hasan of Shaholi, a village in the neighbourhood of Lucknow. The commentator was Muha mad Hasan of Bareilly, who served as a Subordinate Ju under the British Government, and died only a few years It is annotated marginally by his son, a Sub-Registrar. *H* is an original work on the principles of the Muhammada by Muhammad Husám-ud-dín, who died in 644 *Hijra,* 700 years ago. *At Táliq-ul-Hámi* are marginal notes on the above, by Maulvi Faiz-ul-Hasan (now dead), the late Professor of Arabic at the Lahore College on the Oriental side. *Mukhtasar-ul-Madni* is the shorter commentary by Sád-ud-dín Taftázáni, on the abridgment of a large work by Sakkáki, which treats of the most important subjects of Arabic literature. The original work is composed of six chapters. *Sharh-i-Viqáyah* is the 4th volume of the work of Muhammadan Hanifi doctrine commencing from the chapter on freeing a slave on condition of payment of money. *Hasn-ud-Diráyah* is a commentary on the above, by Maulvi Abdul Azíz of Lucknow, a living author. *Munyat-ul-Musalli* describes the Muhammadan prayers. *Tarjama-i-Fársi* is its translation into Persian, interlineary with marginal notes. This work is based on the Hanafi view of the performance of Muhammadan prayers, which is said to find favour with the Afgháns and the people of Turkistán. *Díwán-i-Ali ibn-i Abi Talib* is a collection of poetical works attributed to Ali, son of Abú Talib, the fourth Kálifah who lived over twelve hundred years ago: the marginal notes are in Persian. *Al-kálám-ul-Sádiq* is a Persian commentary on Nizám-ul-Mantiq in Arabic, by one Ahmad Husain, a living author. The original work is a manual on deductive logic in common use among Arabic students in native schools.

(8) PERSIAN PUBLICATIONS.

Of the eight books among the publications under this head, *viz.*, *Masnavi-i Maulavi Mánavi*, *Akhláq-i-Muhsini*, *Malfúzát-e-Sháh Mína*, *Maktúb-i-Khwájah Muín-ud-din-i-Chishti*, *Maqásid-us Salikín*, *Malfúzat-i-Sikandari*, *Zír-o-Bam* and *Makhzan-i-Akhláq*, that treat of Tasawwuf and morals, the first four were written in ancient times. The first mentioned is considered to be a sacred book of the East by Jalál-ud-dín Rúmi. M. Abdul Jalíl has read 17 different commentaries on it, one in Arabic, in six volumes, printed in Egypt. Its language is Pahlavi. The present edition, which has been printed at Cawnpore under the direction of M. Muhammad Rahmat-uláh Rád, contains different readings and notes. "*Waqái Tasallut-i- Rús bar Eshiya*," "*Tazkirát-i-Mashá-hír-i-Jaunpur*," and "*Mahá bhárat-i-Farsi*" are three historical works. The first is a history of the Russian rule in Asia. The second book is the biography of the *savants* of Jaunpur. *Qánún-ut-Táún* sets forth in detail the causes, treatment, etc., of the existing plague.*

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* We have unearthed this intensely interesting and instructive report of year's publications in the vernaculars by native authors in the N.-W. P. n an official publication where it would have lain buried for ever,—

ART. X.—FAMINES IN INDIA.

[SOME FACTS AND SUGGESTIONS.]

I.

NO evil is altogether unwelcome which brings some good in its train. The current famine in India is an evil of this description. It suggests much that is gloomy and depressing; but it is not without its redeeming and hopeful aspect: the fearful loss of life and the painful sufferings of an immense mass of humanity which are associated with it have touched the hearts of the good and sensible people of this country; and although the War in South Africa has proved of absorbing interest, the Famine in India has continued to excite no small sympathy. One smells the odour of the Indian famine inside the Houses of Parliament, in other public places, in private drawing rooms and on the top of the omnibus. One hears it discussed in private conversation, at public meetings and in places of worship. This I consider to be the bright side of the famine calamity that it has, to some extent, called the attention of the British public to the condition of the people of India. John Bull has been compelled to ask himself some pertinent questions: "Am I responsible for it?" "Is it not avoidable?" "Have I made mistakes?" "Have I been too selfish hitherto?" "Did I not mean well?" "Are not the habits and usages and thriftlessness of the Indian people themselves to blame?" and so forth. Such heart searchings must prove of mutual benefit to India and to England.

Such a state of the public mind is my excuse for presenting a few facts and attempting an analysis of them with a view to suggest remedial measures. I shall scrupulously endeavour to keep to the facts and I shall indulge in no fancies. I shall advance no opinions except tentatively and in a spirit of scientific research. The facts I shall proceed to submit relate to one district only, but they are more or less typical. I may also state that I have a personal knowledge of the facts, having been charged with the management of the famine relief operations of the district of which I was the administrative head.

The district I refer to is the Amreli District. It is that part of the Baroda State which lies in the peninsula of Kathyawar on the West Coast of India.

The district covers an area of about 1,200 square miles, a for administrative purposes, is sub-divided into five parts.

it is not a compact district. It is made up of patches of territory situated wide apart from each other—a circumstance which adds to the difficulties of administration. Nor is the population of the district, about 180,000 souls, according to the census taken in 1891, homogeneous. It comprises "all sorts and conditions of men," rich and poor, priestly and farming, literate and illiterate, Hindoos of all denominations, and Mahometans of all sects, provident and thriftless, law-abiding and criminal. Speaking generally, it is, what may be called, a poor district. Its soil is not uniformly of a high degree of fertility, nor do facilities for irrigational agiculture abound; and the cultivators are not particularly famous for skill and industrious habits, many of them being distinctly of a feckless character and possessing only a rudimentary knowledge of agriculture. It also suffered from a succession of unfavourable seasons, the rainfall being uncertain and insufficient. The people tried to tide over bad times with some difficulty, until in 1899 they were overtaken by the severest famine of recent times brought on by a failure of the rains just when they were most wanted.

The district possesses hardly any perennial rivers, except one or two small ones, and absolutely no reservoirs of water. In parts of it there is sub-soil water which can be reached by boring through substrata of more or less hard rock.

Large areas of land remained unsown, and where the seed *was* sown it grew only to perish, and not a blade of grass had grown. The cultivators felt perplexed, and despair seized hold of him. How to save himself and family, how to save his cattle from destruction were the two questions which confronted him. A large proportion of the cattle were sent to the hilly regions miles away in the hope of finding fodder and water; but some of the cattle perished on the way from exhaustion, and on reaching the hills others died from want of grass and water. The cultivators and their families held out as long as they could. They had grain and other food stuff to suffice for their needs till in the usual course the annual fresh supply should come in from the fields, that is, till about the month of December. Wherever facilities existed for raising crops by irrigation they set about making use of them, old wells were cleared and harnessed so to say and the water was applied to grow wheat and other suitable crops, and wet lands by the side of brooks were dug up and planted with early growing crops. But such facilities did not exist in all the villages; nor were all the inhabitants cultivators. There were many in every village who ordinarily lived by working as day labourers in assisting the farmers in the numerous operations of agriculture. Such labourers found no work and no wages, and these were threatened with starvation at an early period of the season in about September. They had no savings in money or grain to fall back upon. In the villages and in towns there were also artisans such as carpenters, blacksmiths, oil-pressers, weavers, masons, potters, *et hoc omnegenus*. These started to emigrate to towns and other centres of industry such as Bombay and Karachi. Some of the unskilled agricultural labourers, shepherds, cowherds and other such classes started to emigrate aimlessly.

It became evident that (1) relief works must be commenced forthwith to give work to such of the labourers as were able and willing to earn decent wages; (2) that the infirm persons in every village who ordinarily live on the public charity of the village, or are looked after by their relations, should be gratuitously provided for owing to the drying up of the fountain of private charity; and (3) that such cultivators and others as were willing to tide over the hard time by means of pecuniary loans must be offered such loans by the State according to proved exigency in each case in the absence of private bankers declining to advance such loans. These and other measures were adopted and were responsible for arrresting aimless wandering, for a satisfactory proportion of the area of land which came under irrigation and produced food for men and fodder for cattle and, on the whole, arrested emaciation and loss of physical stamina of the population.

It would be beside my present purpose to describe the conduct and organisation of the famine relief operations in all its branches and details, and the results with which it was attended, and suffice it so say that notwithstanding very many difficulties the great object of saving human life was, by common consent, eminently achieved, for which one can only be thankful to Providence.

II.

For a few months nearly a third of the total population were in receipt of relief from the State in some shape or other, *viz.*, advances of money, gratuitous doles of food, or wages at relief works. The phenomenon was well worthy of study. I had, therefore, almost at the very outset made out a census of men and cattle of every village, and every month additions or diminution of the numbers noted at commencement were recorded, with causes to which they were due; and during my visits to the villages I never failed to inquire into the condition of the villagers and of their migrations, as well as of their cattle. The information I collected was very interesting and afforded a clue, fairly reliable, as to what classes of persons were affected with the famine conditions and to what degree and at what stage. I shall ask the reader to bear with me while I present a few samples of my notes. Though abbreviated, they will, I think, prove very suggestive.

December 9th, 1899.—Very satisfactory activity in all villages with regard to wheat-sowing, most of the old wells cleaned and repaired, and some new wells dug ; liberal money advances made by the State to tenants have been utilised ; the acreage under irrigated wheat and green fodder considerable, and if all goes well for two or three months, the industrious cultivator is hopepul of tiding over the present crisis as far as his family and his plough-bullocks are concerned. At Challala a well-sized and well-to-do village, 33 new wells are sunk and more are in hand ; of these 2 were sunk with the aid of State subvention and 31 with private resources ; 51 old wells $+33=84$ wells ; at 5 bigahs irrigated under each well, total acreage$=$420 bigahs ; at 13½ maunds of wheat or other grain per bigah, total estimated outturn$=$5,460 maunds ; total number of holders of land$=$176, who have all been accommodated on the wells and, in addition, about a dozen families, who have come from other villages, have also been accommodated ; average population 2,916, which, with temporary accretions from other villages, has risen to 3,200 persons ; the village serves as a market for the neighbourhood and imports grain ; there are about 20 helpless poor which the village maintains, and if the wheat harvest proves satisfactory, will continue to maintain ; the village has sent its quota of non-agricultural labourers to the relief works.

Vavdi, Dharangni and other villages of the neighbourhood busy at wells ; Dharangni has also a running river. Samdhiala-mota has 26 old wells$+$8 new wells ; about 300 bigahs under wheat ; total population 1,124, out of which 94 have gone to relief works and 1 to another village to grow wheat.

Anida has 8 old$+$4 new$=$12 wells ; area under wheat$=$77 bigahs ; total number of holders of land 38, all accommodated on wells ; total population$=$376, out of whom 13 persons have gone to Ditla village to grow wheat and 32 persons to relief works ; cattle are still saved, but most of the cows, she-buffaloes and horses look emaciated and, except the plough-bullocks, will perish for the most part.

December 16th, Khambha and surrounding villages—hilly and rocky, soil unfertile, villages poor, houses not substantial, limate malarial, much pasturage ordinarily, but this year nil, ttle dying in numbers ; wherever possible, cultivators busy th irrigation ; most holders of land have combined for mutual and work at wells in partnership ; those who could get no accommodation have gone with their cattle to neighbour-illages to live and work with their relations or friends ;

non-agricultural labourers in excess of the number supportable in these hard times when the agricultural industry has become dislocated, have left in search of employment, or have taken refuge at the relief works.

Khakhberi—60 holders of land, most of whom have accommodated themselves on 40 (35 old+5 new) wells; cultivated land, ordinarily; 3,200 bigahs population 205 men+205 women +150 girls+161 boys=721, out of these 32 persons have emigrated=7, to relief works; 2 for irrigational facilities elsewhere; 2 carpenters to Bombay where they have found work; 17 to Bhavnagar port for work and labour; 4 to relations in a village of the Bhavnagar State. There are 520 cattle=183 bullocks; 128 cows; 57 she buffaloes; 108 calves; 44 male-buffaloes.

Ningala—ordinarily 2,442 bigahs of land under cultivation; holders of land 35; wells 9 old+1 new=10; wells repaired and constructed without State aid; about 150 bigahs under irrigation, all holders of land accommodated on the 10 wells, but members of the families of some of them migrated to other villages for growing irrigated crops in partnership with others; population 281 souls made up of castes as follows:—

Caste.	Living in village.	Emigrated.
Luhana (traders and cultivators) ...	1	...
Shoe-maker	8	...
Bania (banker and trader) ...	1	...
Brahmin (priest)	6	...
Babria Rajput (cultivators) ..	42	12
Musalmans	35	10
Potters	5	..
Kanbi (cultivators)	134	43
Blacksmith	2	2
Kolees (cultivators and day labourers)	21	9
Barbers	2	...
Shepherds	11	1
Dheds (Pariah day labourers) ...	13	3
Total ...	281	80

Particulars regarding emigration may be noted as follows:—

12 Babria-Rajputs=6 cultivators, to Junagad territory to raise irrigated crops; 3 labourers, to friends in Junagad territory; 3 labourers, to State Relief Works.

10 Musalmans=8, to Bhavnagar jurisdiction for labour; 2 to Bombay for labour.

43 Kanbis=40, to Junagad, Bhavnagar and Dedan territory for raising irrigation crops in partnership with friends and relation.

2 Blacksmiths, to Bhavanagar for professional work.

9 Kolees=4, to Junagad for irrigational crops, 5 to Bom for labour.

1 Shepherd=to Bombay for labour.

3 Dheds=to Dedan for raising irrigated crops.

The following cattle were noted:—

Bullocks 55; cows 38; she-buffaloes 23; male-buffaloes 13; calves 27=156 total; deduct 2 taken by owners to another village for cultivation purposes, leaving 154 in the village.

Kantala.—Mainly poor Kolee population made up of 38 men, 37 women, 26 boys, 29 girls=130 persons; of these 5 have gone to State Relief Works, 25 to Bombay and other ports, etc. There are 5 incapable and weak persons in the village; total holders of land 12, all accommodated on 3 old+1 new=4 wells; money advances from the State amount to Rs. 127 for irrigational purposes; people bring roots of grass which they dig from the hill sides and sell at neighbouring village of Dedan for about 3 annas (3 pence) per head-load; after about a month most people will be compelled to migrate to relief works. Cattle=33 bullocks, 67 cows, 34 she-buffaloes, 7 male-buffaloes, 24 calves=165 total, deduct 20 died, leaving 145 sur-ing, of which all but about 50 are threatened with extinction.

uary 17th, 1900—Mota Bhandaria, about 300 bigahs are rigation; expected outturn of wheat is about 2,000 s in addition to fodder; principal cultivators are Kan- y caste; total population is 740, out of whom 326 or 45 ent. are Kanbees; 102 persons have sought employment at ef works; particulars as follows:—

Month.	Total No. of persons who went to relief works.	Kolees.	Kunbees.	Barbers.	Sagurs.	Brahmins.	Lohunas.	Blacksmiths.	Carpenters.	Kathees.	Mendicants	Dheds.
Oct. 1899	32	13	2	3	1	10	3	...	...	...	...	...
Nov. 1899	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...
Dec. 1899	16	3	9	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...
Jan. 1900	54	7	20	4†	...	...	3	3	...	3	2	6†
Feb. 1900	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	102	23	37	7	1	10*	6	3	4	3	2	6
Men ..	23	5	6	..	1	2	3	2	2	1	1	1
Women ...	46	9	10	6	...	3	1	1	2	1	...	
Children ...	33	9	11	1	..	5	2	...	...	1	1	3
	102	23	37	7	1	10	6	3	4	3	2	6

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* Brahmins returned from relief works.

6 Dheds and 3 Barbers returned from relief.

he first rush to relief works took place in October. Among rst to feel the pinch of famine were the Kolees, who, before elief works had been sanctioned and started, resorted to theft of standing crops or of Babul trees standing in Government or private lands. Brahmins and Lohunas were attracted to the relief works by the hope of finding employment on the clerical or supervising staff. In November there was no movement towards the relief works. Those who could hold out till December, did so ; but in the latter month, in addition to a few Kolees, a few Kanbees (agricultural labourers) were driven by stress of necessity to the works, and in January the number on relief works from among the Kolees and Kanbees and other classes increased largely. The fact was relief was sought as the resources of finding work in villages failed or as food-stocks of the previous season became depleted. There was nothing particularly tempting at the relief works, none of those comforts which a residence in one's own cottage in one's own village and among familiar surroundings affords even to the humblest villager. There was no work available in the villages except to a few of the hardier men-labourers who were offered a "living" wage as "drawers of water." Women and children swelled the number at the relief works. To take the case of one or two of the villages :—

(*a*) Village of Thordi.

1.—*Bhagwan Arjan*—potter by caste and profession—non-holder of land—total persons in the family 3, *viz.*, self and 2 daughters—all went to relief works.

2.—*Raja Arjan*—potter—a family of 5 persons—1 self remained in village, *being a village servant*, and 1 wife and 3 children went to relief works.

3.—*Bhurā Vālā*—potter—family of 5 persons—all went to relief works.

(*N. B.*—Ordinarily the potters find work in making earthenware or tiles or bricks; but this year there was no sale for such work owing to famine distress.)

4.—*Bhimā Karman*—shepherd—holds no land—family of four, *viz.*, 1 self, 1 wife, 2 daughters—all went to relief works—no sheep to tend.

5.—*Khimā Dūrgā*—Kunbee (agricultural tenant)—family of 5 persons—2 persons (father and mother) remained at home, and the others (*viz.*, 1 self, 1 sister, 1 brother) went to relief works.

6.—*Kalā Nāran*—Kunbee—agricultural tenant—annual land assessment to Government Rs. 100—cattle died, all but one bullock with which he worked in partnership with anoth tenant to raise wheat and lucerne by irrigation—1 self an mother remained at home, the others (1 wife, 2 sons of 8 10 years, and 1 sister of 12 years) went to relief works.

7.—*Bhānā Padmā*—Kunbee—poor, paid Rs. 4 assessm Government—had sown wheat and lucerne, irrigated in p ship with another villager—4 persons in the family—3 persons (1 self, 1 daughter, 1 son) remained at home; 1 son (14 years old) went to relief works.

8.—*Ganeshgir*—care-taker and worshipper at the village temple—family of 5 persons—4 persons remained at home, 1 son (16 years old) went to relief works.

9.—*Dolatgir*—same caste as above, but no emoluments or land—family of 2 persons; both (1 self, 1 wife) went to relief works—ordinarily lived by labour and mendicancy.

(*b.*) Village of Sanosra.

1.—*Anand Ghoba*—Kunbee—held no land—family of 7 persons—all went to relief works—ordinarily agricultural day-labourers.

2. *Giga*—Kunbee—holds no land—family of 7 persons, all but one brother who earned wages as a plough-boy went to relief works.

3. *Wala*—same caste and status as above—family of two persons, *viz.*, himself and wife, both went to relief works.

4. *Manji*—same caste and status as above—family of 5 persons, *viz.*, 1 father, 1 wife, 1 self, 2 sons, all went to relief works.

5. *Raghoo*—same description, almost as above—family of 4 persons.

6. *Punja*—same as above—family of 5 persons.

7. *Jeeva*—Kunbee—land-holder—paid Rs. 33 land-assessment to Government—owned a pair of bullocks, but they died—family of 6 persons, all went to relief works.

8. *Jaga*—Kunbee—agricultural day-labourer—family of 4 persons—all went to relief works.

9. *Ranchod*—same status and caste as above—family of 4 persons—1 wife remained at home, the others all went to relief works.

10. *Gaga*—same caste and status as above, but owned 2 bullocks, and had sown wheat and lucerne in partnership with another—family of 10 persons—six persons (*viz.*, 1 self, 3 sons, 1 mother, 1 aunt) remained at home, and the others (*viz.*, 1 wife, 3 daughters=4 persons) went to relief works.

11. *Hira*—Kunbee—agricultural tenant—family of 4 persons, all went to relief works.

12. *Kala*—Kunbee—sub-tenant of land—owned 1 bullock—had sown wheat in partnership with another—family of 5 persons—1 self remained at home, the other members went to relief works.

13. *Devji*—Kunbee—tenant of Government land—owned a pair of bullocks—had sown wheat—family of 7 persons—5 remained at home, 2 were sent to relief works.

14. *Khou*—Kunbee—held no land—family of 7 persons; 6

persons (*viz.*, 1 self, 1 wife, 2 sons, 2 daughters) went to relief works ; 1 person (mother, 80 years old) was kept at home and was maintained from savings of wages earned at relief works.

15. *Bhawan*—Kunbee—no land—family of 7 persons—4 persons (2 sons, 1 daughter-in-law, 1 grand-daughter) went to relief works; 3 persons (1 self, 1 wife, 1 son) employed themselves in growing, by manual irrigation, wheat, vegetables and lucerne for sale. They dug a small well by themselves and worked a light water-lift by hand.

16. *Vasram*—Kunbee—tenant of land—family of 6 persons,—3 went to relief works, 2 were in jail, 1 daughter went to her father-in-law's house.

Such and similar other details were collected on the spot and verified in presence and with the assistance of the villagers. They were tested from time to time. They enabled me to guage the intensity of the famine distress in respect of all sections of the rural population.

III.

I have stated in the foregoing that the Amreli District is poor. I am almost certain that the wealthiest portion of the inhabitants does not possess more than half-a-dozen—scarcely even so many—persons with capital of about a lakh of rupees equivalent to about seven thousand pounds sterling; and these belong to the banking and trading professions.

There are no industries. There are less than a dozen cotton-ginning factories in the whole district. These remained closed for want of cotton during the year of famine.

Handicrafts and cottage industries, worthy of the name, do not exist. There are about three hundred families of weavers of cotton cloth of a very coarse description; and also some which occasionally turn out an insignificant quantity of what, for a better name, may be called woollen "Home-spuns" for the use of the village population. But the drought affected both these industries. The demand for cloth fell to almost vanishing point, cotton was not produced, and sheep died owing to want of grazing. Carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, workers in metals, and such others supply usually only local demand for wares. Their work came to a standstill. In a word, almost every trade and profession, being dependent upon the prospects of the agricultural industry, became paralysed; and if the State had not stepped in to organise and to administer famine relief, a total disruption of the rural communities would have followed.

But although relief was offered on a stupendous scale, be it noted that it was availed of only by about a third of the total population, by sixty thousand out of one hundred and eighty thousand; that is to say, two-thirds of the people managed to tide over the hard times without the help of State. This is a phenomenon which is useful and instructive to study and ought to supply us with the key of the situation which appears so puzzling. If, by some means, the number of State relief seekers could be raised to the social status of those others who could successfully withstand famine distress without aid from the State, this would be the consummation of all our labours devoutly to be wished for. How is it to be achieved? Let us see; let us analyse and reflect with the help of the information which I have, perhaps, too briefly, I am afraid, and necessarily scantily, set forth in the foregoing section of this paper.

Broadly speaking, the rural population may be divided into the "higher" and the "lower" classes. The former are, on the whole, more literate, more intelligent, and more prudent in their social habits. The latter are wanting in most of these qualities. The priestly classes, the bankers, traders, writers, professional persons, some of the artizan-classes may be included, for our purpose, in the former division; and the day-labourers, such as the Kolees, the tanners and skinners, and some of the unskilled agricultural labourers of the Kunbee and Rajput (degraded) and such other classes, may be appropriately included in the latter division. The former understand the value of, and endeavour to lay by, savings, and at all events possess some, however little, financial credit. The savings may be in landed property, houses, jewellery, or, rarely, cash, and the credit may vary. These classes are also not lacking in enterprise when hard-pressed. But the latter are completely helpless. During a year of good seasons, they find work in harvesting crops, or weeding, and so forth, and earn just enough customary wages to pull them through from season to season. They do not get work all the days of the year, and during slack seasons and on days when there is nothing to do in the fields they are practically idle. They know no handicrafts or other work requiring manual or technical skill which would keep them busy earning wages. *Nolens Volens* they live on the most scanty subsistence and are most susceptible to calamities due to changes of the seasons. Every village possesses its quota of such unskilled agricultural labourers whom in years of average seasons it is able to maintain, but in years of adverse seasons is compelled to throw on their own resources which are next to nothing. At such a crisis the State is required to intervene and save the situation.

How to convert the latter class of labourers to the status of the former class, as nearly as possible? That is the question of questions. Are these unskilled labourers of the "lower" classes in excess of the actual requirements? My impression is that their number is not excessive. They all, or almost all, find work in the busy season and are needed. I have seen instances of cotton remaining for days unpicked and deteriorating owing to deficiency of labourers from some temporary cause. I have seen corn ungarnered or fields left without weeding owing to the same cause. I have, therefore, no doubt that the number of labourers attaching to a village or a group of villages is about what is necessary. But I do think that these poor people must be put in the way of earning enough to keep them from year's end to year's end in comfort and to enable them to save something against days of calamity. This can be brought about by (1) increased wages during the time they are taken on agricultural work or (2) by finding work for them during the time they are not so employed. The first result must depend largely on the continued prosperity of the agricultural industry and the voluntary action of economic causes; the second is one in respect of which the community as a whole and the State might consult together. By agricultural prosperity I do not mean mere rise of prices of agricultural produce, for a rise of prices itself, often must prove to be a fallacious test of prosperity; I mean by it an increased output of produce resulting in a corresponding increase of the wages of labour, and in this respect I am certain there is room for earnest endeavours. The farmers appear to me to suffer and to remain on a low level at present owing to, among other causes, lack of technical knowledge of the application of manures and of improved methods of husbandry generally and of ready capital. Not that there is not a fairly available capital in the country; but owing to the improvident character of a large proportion of the rural population, capital does not seek investment in agricultural improvements except at very high, almost usurious, rates of interest—a circumstance which very much handicaps the industry. I must, however, point out that the class of farmers is not hopelessly devoid of germs of the higher social virtues. He has come to the low level of social character which he exhibits at present, mainly owing to continued mis-government. We have seen that in the construction of new wells or repairs to old wells a good many of the owners shifted without the assistance of the State. We have seen that so long as members of families could find some kind of occupation for themselves or so long as they had food in their houses they did not go to the relief works. Such of them as had credit of some kind with their bankers used this resource in preference to throwing themselves on the hands of the State, and those who came to seek relief would not have come if there was any other resource of work and wages available. I have seen how hard they worked, night and day, at their wells for irrigating their fields. My impression is that the case of the cultivator is not hopeless so long as he is able to put forth such manly effort as he did to the extent possible in his present condition. But he requires to be guided and to be helped. He is behind times in knowledge of husbandry. He is not wanting in the spirit to better his lot. His case is complicated but not beyond hope of recovery. He must be educated in the methods of improving the yield of his crops. He must be afforded facilities for irrigation. He must be brought within reach of capital. He must be afforded means of transporting his crops to the best markets.

Naturally, when the produce of agriculture and profits increase, the whole of the rural population will share in the prosperity. The general customary standard of wages will rise leading to the betterment of the wage-earning classes. These classes too are not beyond a hope of being helped to a better social status than they now occupy. Many of them used to eke out existence by going long distances and doing laborious work in digging roots of grass or picking fuel or such other work for a paltry sum of money which might just purchase them, perhaps, one meal a day ; and it was not until even this resource failed them that they came to the relief works. I concluded from this circumstance that if there were some handicrafts, manufactures, and industries independent of agriculture in the district these poor people would have very willingly worked for their wages in connection with them ; but unfortunately there was not such a resource available and then, these people also would require to be taken sympathetically by the hand, taught some technical trades and raised, through elementary education, to higher standard of social virtues. They must be taught to save out of their earnings and must be afforded the necessary banking facilities for their savings.

Let us note further that :—

(1) As soon as people had lost all hope of getting rain, they set to dig or to repair wells, and that a spirit of co-operation came into play whereby as many of the cultivators as could be were accommodated.

(2) As *long* as persons could find labour and work in their villages of *any* kind, they did not migrate to the relief works.

(3) As a rule, only such members of families *as could not* be maintained otherwise were sent to the relief works.

Some persons who had friends and acquaintances migrated to distant parts like Bombay and Karachi in search of employment.

(5) Persons who had pecuniary means or credit to borrow did not ask for State relief.

(6) Generally speaking, persons of the "higher" classes had some pecuniary means or credit which enabled them to stave off the difficulty.

The remedies, therefore, to prevent famine suggest themselves:—

(1) Put the lower classes on the level of the "higher" classes. What has made the "higher" classes what they are? The possession of social virtues of enterprise, prudence and thrift. They are also more literary. I should have compulsory elementary education for this purpose. I would grudge no expenditure on this head. It may be justified as a permanent famine expenditure.

(2) I should have manual and technical education for the rural classes, along with elementary education, and in every suitable group of villages a higher technical school. In "technical education" I would include a practical knowledge of agriculture.

(3) A knowledge of improved agricultural methods, of the selection of seed, of manures, of agricultural insurance, of agricultural co-operation should be diffused by means of leaflets, by sending round expert persons to impart it in villages and by actual demonstration in "model plots."

(4) Every endeavour should be made to create or to foster or to revive mechanical industries. The agricultural labourer is employed scarcely 200 out of 365 days of the year. This must be remedied. The cotton-spinning and weaving industry which has developed in Bombay has benefitted the rural population of the coast districts and of the Deccan and of Gujerat to no small extent. I am not oblivious of the fact that economic conditions are not altogether amenable to State control, but in regard to cottage and small rural industries an earnest endeavour may be made.

Some years ago when I held the charge of another district administration, I had caused to be collected information showing all sorts of existing industries conducted in villages, the conditions under which they were carried on, the numbe[illegible] of persons engaged in each of such industries and how th[illegible] could be promoted, but before I could mature plans based [illegible] this industrial survey for submission to Government, I [illegible] transferred from the district and my labours, I am so[illegible] say, could bear no fruit.

I had also another idea which did not prove still—born like the one indicated above, but died soon after it was born. I had proposed to conduct an "economic survey" as I called it. I wished to note the value of each village, and of every family in the village in all conceivable details, the liabilities and assets. My object was to collect materials for judgment as to the incidence of taxation and as to the ability of the rural population to bear it. I am sure the information, if it were collected, would have been invaluable, though it could only be at best approximately correct. But from some untoward circumstances I was unable to conduct the survey which Government had sanctioned on a tentative scale. I should think such information should be periodically collected if practicable and compared. It would be immensely helpful in the work of administration. Of course, just now the time is not suitable as the people would misunderstand the object of the measure and would evade or resist it.

IV.

Has the system of land taxation anything to do with the inability of the people to resist a famine? This is a vexed question. I may say, however, that the land revenue assessment of the District about which I am writing has, for about twenty years, been settled in cash instead of in kind. The cultivator used to share the produce of his field with the State which stands in the place of the landlord; but he now pays the cash value of the share on a certain number of years. There are good as well as bad points attaching to each of these methods of collecting the land-tax. It is needless to dilate upon them here. The present system assumed certain qualities of self-reliance on the part of the farming communities which unfortunately do not exist among their individual members at present, except in a varying degree. One serious drawback it has is that it drives the cultivator to seek accommodation with the village banker for the produce of his field in consideration for money which he requires to pay to the State Tax-Collector. But it must be said also per contra that this is but one of many occasions on which the cultivator and the village money-lender come into contact; and if the cultivator were all that one would have him to be in character and intelligence, it would not matter much, and it only shows that we must bestow some pains and elevate, by education, the cultivator in moral and [illegible]ocial virtues, and till then, of course, take note of what he is [illegible]d suit our administrative measures to his existing circum[illegible]ces.

[illegible]e general impression is that owing to the *high* incidence [illegible] land-tax, and the rigidity in its collection and the necessity of payment in cash which at present is imposed upon the cultivator, the latter is sinking deeper into debt. It is so difficult to exactly analyse all the causes of the cultivator's difficulties; but it must be admitted that the land-tax in the Umreli District has been advisedly fixed high to enable the State to grant remission of taxation in years of bad season. Under the old system of collecting only a share of the produce in kind there was room for an automatic adjustment of remissions which does not exist under the present system, and the State authorities have to deal with the questions of remissions as it arises each time. It is hoped that suitable remissions will be granted. All the same, it may be stated that even when the old system was in vogue, the cultivator was heavily indebted. He, poor man, had no luxuries, no possessions, he borrowed money at the rate of 2 per cent. *per mensem*; half the number of cultivators disposed of their share of the crops to the money-lender while the crops were still standing; a great number of these had no food in their houses at the end of the year, and for every bushel they then borrowed they had to pay back a bushel and a half; half the people did not sow their own seed and borrowed seed was doubled in the return; they were not allowed to transfer their fields to others, as of right, and even the very huts and cottages in which they lived were considered to be the property of the State

If even with all these stringent measures regarding transfer of property, the cultivators were steeped in debt and altogether incompetent to resist a famine much milder than the recent famine—it is doubtful to my mind that a return to those old notions—as is the evident tendency of recent land legislation in British India—will avail much. The truth is not easy to ascertain, but this appears to be certain that the causes of the Indian cultivators' miseries are difficult—though not impossible to remedy. This or that palliative advertised with all the prestige appertaining to a panacea—will not answer all the expectations one may raise about it. A policy of a variety of synchronous expedients must be adopted and faithfully adhered to over a long course of years. It must include compulsory primary education, training of the people in the social virtues of thrift and providence, the institution of cheap and easily accessible judicial tribunals for disposal of suits of agricultural debts such as was suggested in 1879 by certain well-known Indian gentlemen having official experience or on th
model *mutatis mutandis* of those existing in France, training
handicrafts, encouragement and organisation of small r
industries on the plan of what is being done in Ireland b
congested Districts Board and preeminently by the Irish
cultural and Technical Instruction Board, and other r

which a careful and sympathetic study of the local circumstances of each District or Province is sure to suggest as the most suitable, but all of which, I must say, it is not possible for Government to undertake single-handed and without the active sympathies and co-operations of non-official gentlemen of whom, I regret to say, there are not many endowed with zeal and capacity available outside the ranks of the Government services. But I fancy the Christian Missionaries would make themselves more useful than they are at present if they took up some of these functions such as the organisation of rural co-operative institutions and of handicrafts.

With regard to the evil effects of the prevailing rigidity of the land-revenue system, it may be stated that the author of the Survey Settlement of the Amreli District, Mr. F. A. H. Elliot, C.I.E., a very sympathetic officer and one who approach-
ed t subject with an open mind, proposed to combine the
go of the old Batai or payment-in-kind-system and
of yment-system in what he called the varying-
bi n. He proposed, in substance, to determine a
sc (b) by the cultivator might pay his tax in grain or in
ca s option according to the agricultural conditions of
th if the year happened to be better than the average,
a ionately higher amount of taxation might be collected
b state; if it happened to be worse, the amount to be
coll ed would be *pro tanto* smaller; and so on a turning account might be kept between the State and the tenant. The plan was not easy to work in practice; but no effect was given to it. I mention it here merely to call attention to the wish to introduce elasticity in the administration of the land-tax and to the possibility of formulating it for practical action.

Another method by which the rigid nature of the prevailing land-tax may be relaxed is to vary the rate of taxation to accord with the degree of agricultural skill or want of skill of certain castes or classes of cultivators. There used to be in certain parts of the Baroda State what were called *Komwar* rates of assessment of the land-tax, certain classes of cultivators were assumed to be superior in skill and intelligence to certain others.
The latter were charged a lower tax for the lands they he
the former. Theoretically, there is an obvious ele
injustice in such a scheme of taxation, but where it
tion of adoption of administrative palliatives and n
justice, one cannot afford to be squeamish. Ther
that the cultivators of the "inferior" classes we
take kindly to agriculture by the inducement of
rates rather than take to outlawry and brig
would it have saved them from falling victims to
I am inclined to say that it would not have done

as I do, that they lack the necessary moral stamina to lay by savings.

Much indignation is expressed in India against the attitude of the village money-lender. Much of the misery of the cultivator is laid at *his* door; but although I know of cases of great unscrupulousness exhibited by the money-lenders, I shrink from saying that the fault lies all with them and not with the borrowers who, in their turn, are in a good many instances, reckless and dishonest. In the Baroda State, the cultivators' tools of husbandry, his cottage and his plough-cattle, and a certain quantity of his land are protected from attachment in satisfaction of the decree of a Civil Court; this exemption is found to be useful, but it does not, I think, wholly solve the real difficulty which arises from the necessitousness and ignorance of the cultivator and his want of credit in character or in property. But let me not seem to extenuate the present order of things. There exists the evil—an undoubted evil—that a large and increasing proportion of the cultivators is suffering from indebtedness and becoming enslaved to the money-lender. The cultivator is certainly not more ignorant now than he has been for generations past; but he is, I think, more at the mercy of the money-lender now than he was. The modern Civil Courts enable the latter to be independent of the public opinion of the village. He asks for his "pound of flesh," so to say; and the Civil Court decree awards it to him. The only remedy against hard-heartedness is to throw the money-lender back on the village public. In every village there is a proportion of the residents who are respectable in their character and antecedents, and who like to deal fairly between man and man. The influence of such persons will prevent injustice being done to the money-lender while it will protect the cultivator from harm. The true remedy appears to be to let agricultural debts be settled by methods of conciliation and compromise in village-areas.

V.

Famine relief work impressed me so much with the utter misery and helplessness of the people of my district, and the [illegible]ty of studying remedial measures of a permanent kind [illegible]d formed a resolution before my departure from India, [illegible]ast, to visit Ireland which I knew had suffered about [illegible]ry ago with a terribly severe famine and where, [illegible]overnment has been alive to the expediency of [illegible]ures to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry. [illegible] some conclusions of my own based upon my [illegible]ence and the knowledge of the circumstances [illegible] of my district, I wished to compare notes with those who had experience of similar work and similar difficulties. Through the courtesy and kindness of some of the prominent officials at Dublin I was able to see and to learn a good deal of very great use and interest in the line of inquiry I had proposed to myself. My mind was, to some extent, brought into touch with almost all the important phases of the Irish Land Question and of the Government of Ireland. I met and had the pleasure of conversation with gentlemen of (1) the Irish Land Commission, (2) the Local Government Board, (3) the Congested Districts Board, (4) the Irish Constabulary, (5) the Irish Education and Technical Instruction Board, (6) the Irish Co-operative Organisation Society, (7) the Educational Department, (8) the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and (9) some non-official gentlemen and clergy. I am most thankful to all the gentlemen for the kindliness and cordiality with which they discussed matters with me and furnished me information or put me in the way of obtaining it. Ireland is a most bewildering study of social and political problems at present; and it was most instructive to have heard what I heard from the lips of those well qualified to speak on their respective subjects and to have seen what I saw. It would fill much space to relate all the impressions I gathered, but I may state that I was struck with the zeal and earnestness of purpose, and almost religious fervour with which the moving and leading spirits of the Educational and Technical Instruction Department (if I may mention names, Messrs. Horace Plunkett, Gill, Coen, George Russell and Doran) were working to give effect to the excellent ideas with which they are inspired for bringing about an improvement in the agricultural, industrial, and educational, condition of the people. I was equally struck with the steady, persevering spirit with which the gentlemen of the Congested District Board were working, *viz.*, Messrs. F. Wrench and Mitchell. But I am all admiration for that mystic-looking man, Mr. George Russel, of the Irish Organisation Society. He throws his whole soul into his work and persuades the village people to see the verities, so to say, of the co-operative movement, spiritualises them almost.

I wished to see one of the poorest Irish counties. I was advised to go to West Galway. Major Rutledge Fair was kind enough to become my cicerone. He is in charge of the county
d has worked as famine relief officer. His knowledge of
e country and of the people is thorough. It was, therefore,
reat advantage to me to have been thrown in his company.
nt from village to village, some of the smallest villages,
ting of a few small cottages; I entered some of the
s, talked to the inmates, saw their food-stock, all their

belongings kept in the only room of which the cottage often consisted, and wherein themselves and pigs and dogs dwelt all together. What filth, what poverty, what semi-nakedness one sees in these cottages! I did not expect to see such misery in such close neighbourhood of over-flowing wealth in England. The people of these cottages live mainly on potatoes and oats which they share with pigs and chickens The land is rocky or boggy. Digging peat for export as fuel is the main industry. A failure of the potato crop means famine and the consequent relief operations. Major Rutledge Fair showed me some of the excellent roads and quays which he constructed as relief works and explained to me the principles and methods followed in the administration of relief and in the organisation of relief works. These are almost the same as are followed in India. Primary education is not compulsory in this part of Ireland. In fact nowhere in Ireland is primary education compulsory in the same manner as in England or Scotland; but it is left optional to each urban and rural area to introduce compulsory education In a few villages I saw National Schools, the buildings are good, and the attendance of boys and girls is very fair, but the Roman Catholic priest plays an efficient part in educationa matters and wields great influence with the people for good or for evil. I was told that where the Roman Catholic pries favours the formation of an agricultural bank it springs up and succeeds; in the opposite case, the result is generally a failure. One cannot fail to observe that usually the mos substantial house in the village is that of the "gombeen" man the very prototype of the Indian village Marwaree (money lender). The people are his serfs. He buys eggs, poultry pigs, produce, from them at his own prices; he lends them money, seed, cloth, woollens, all that they need at *his* prices his rate of interest is high; he charges compound interest he is a terror to them, and also, on his own terms, their friend and protector. I saw some accounts kept by some of thes "gombeen" men. Their methods of work and the principle or want of principles in their dealings with the country-folk are about the same as those of the worst description of th Indian village Shylocks. Most of the villages contain old men and women and young boys and girls. Adult and able-bodied persons generally migrate to America or England, Scotland and other countries.

The Congested Districts Board is doing some good work these villages. It assists migration from over-crowded villa to less densely populated areas. It buys land from land and parcels them out among families in a manner to suit convenience. It consolidates holdings by re-arranging f land. It fixes fair rents with the object that after a certain eriod the land may vest in the tenant as proprietor. It constructs model cottages with sanitary and other suitable conveniences. It spreads a knowledge, by employing itinerant expert inspectors, of the use of manures, of improved methods of agriculture, of seeds, of rotation of crops, and such other things. It constructs fishing boats which it gives to selected men charging the price as only a loan at a nominal interest. It teaches young men to fit themselves for the work of fishermen. It has set up carpentry schools, some of which are not doing well, but that is a circumstance which is remediable. It advances small sums of money for agricultural improvements or to improve or buy live-stock. It constructs roads to open up estates. It is trying to afforest some tracts. In brief, it is doing with the limited means at its disposal, a hundred and one things to better the country-people. Some of the work done by it is done in India by the *takair* system of loans, and the rest is and ought to be done by the Agricultural Departments attached to the principal local Governments in British India. It also fosters technical education and the knowledge of the handicrafts, such as carpet-making, basket-making, wicker work and sundry other trades and professions. It is certainly doing eminently useful work. At the same time, I cannot disguise from myself the suspicion that the cottages it builds are, perhaps, too good for the tenants to be able to keep them in good repair; that the plots of land it parcels out among tenants at present may not meet the requirements of the future when families increase; that the youths it trains will not find employment at home owing to want of industries on the spot; and that the proper- when in the course of years they are handed over free encumbrance to the tenants, will pass from their hands those of the "gombeen" men to whom they will be mort- ed and sold by the necessitous tenants. I was reassured the last point by the belief which is accepted by the officials t the Irish peasant is too much attached to land, that he ll do anything but part with his holding. I can only say ve and learn.

The Congested Districts Board is a State Department. Another department of the State, besides that of national education, is the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. This is a comparatively infant organisation but gives promise of vigorous growth. It is the outcome of the "Recess Committee's Report" and represents a genuine endeavour to ffect solid public good on non-political and non-sectarian lines. Some of its functions overlap those of the Congested Districts Board; but both—in fact, all—the departments work on coordinate lines and in a spirit of co-operation. In West Galway

I did not see many evidences of the activity of the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Department except in regard to the teaching of lace-making and crochet-work. This industry has undoubtedly taken root now through the exertions of the Department and is doing much good. The country side has come to realise the practical value of it, and the movement to learn lace-making is spreading rapidly. Already there is more demand for the lace made than can be complied with, and in a few years more every cottage will be in a position to supplement its scanty means by wages earned by this work. I consider that in this a great boon has been conferred on the Irish peasant. With the object of improving the artistic value of the lace work, teachers have been imported from France; and to facilitate sale of the work turned out a money grant is placed at the disposal of the school masters and mistresses wherewith to purchase it at a reasonable price and send it to Dublin where arrangements have been made with private lace-merchants who purchase the whole of the output. There is also an association patronised by Lady Cadogan to encourage the Irish lace industry, and Irish lace is thus favoured in England by some of the best aristocratic families. It was exhibited by the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Department at the Glasgow Exhibition, and in London there is a shop in Oxford Street where this work is offered to the public and attracts patronage.

This is an idea which the several local administrations in India might borrow from the Irish Departments. On almost the same lines the Congested Districts Board Department acts in regard to the encouragement it gives to the nascent carpet industry and other handicrafts. It helps the manufacturer and the trader in a variety of ways which it is possible to imitate in India if only there were there a spirit of forbearance for mistakes and failures; if, that is to say, there was the will guided by practical wisdom.

On my way to this country from India, I stopped a few days at Marseilles to see the working of the popular Agricultural Co-operative Banks and some of the industries in the neighbourhood; I halted at Lyons with the same object; and during my stay at Paris, besides enjoying my visits to the Louvre Art Galleries, I tried to see something of the small industries which crowd themselves in its suburbs. I have seen something of petty industries in England; and who that reads Prince Kropotkin's book on "Fields, Farms, and Factories," and Mr. Robert Dennis' book on "Industrial Ireland," ever need despair about the possibility of fostering similar trades and industries in India, if only one knew and were permitted to go about the business in the proper spirit. I lent my active sympathie to a small band of workers at Baroda to inaugurate the co-operative movement; but I did not find all the conditions for it helpful. However, although I was under peculiar circumstances transferred to a sphere of administrative activity elsewhere, the germ of the movement which was created is still living at Baroda; and if it met with fostering care at the hands of influential personages, I am certain it would develop itself into a beneficent institution. One hears of Mutual Credit Institutions springing up in the North-Western Provinces of India. The moving spirit was Sir Antony MacDonnell, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Provinces. The co-operative spirit requires to be created; and in the present condition of society in India, it will grow only if Government wishes it to grow and countenances it.

It is the same in Ireland. The Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, nominally a private body, is a pendant to the Department of Agriculture and Technical Institution. The prime mover of both is Mr. Horace Plunkett, but the way he himself and his collaborateurs and subordinates make a religion of their duty is truly marvellous. I was interested in noting the progress of the movement for co-operative Banking among the ignorant and illiterate Irish peasantry. Something is being done in West Galway with varied success. Where the Roman Catholic priest throws cold water on it, it finds it difficult to grow or to develop; but, be it said to the credit of these much-abused priests, many of them take a genuine interest in the welfare of their flock and evince sincere solicitude for their well-being. At Galway itself, for instance, an excellent technical school is growing under the auspices of the local Church dignitary. I met the latter and came away from him with the impression that his fostering care, and the way he had gone about the business and the foresight of his aims and objects, all tend to indicate that the infant institution will, in the course of years, grow into a technical college capable of benefitting not only the immediate neighbourhood but a wider area.

The gombeen man does not appear to favour the growth of the co-operative movement; but this phenomenon is not peculiar to Ireland, and the leaders of the movement will know how to get over it, as has been the case in other countries. The school master and the village doctor are allowed to assist the movement by taking a prominent part in its management. The Co-operative Dairies in the county of Cork are working cessfully and instructors were imported to teach the people to pack eggs, and how to grow fruit and make jam. An ultural farm is maintained near Dublin and tobacco curing ted.

possible to work on similar lines in India only if Government wishes it, and there are signs that the Government of India is awakening under the guidance of that most energetic of Viceroys, Lord Curzon. The Feudatory States of India can do much, but I think the Government of India can do much more by their intelligent leadership and vast financial resources and official influence. I felt myself amply rewarded for the trouble and expense of my visit to Ireland by what I saw and, in a general way, learnt of the excellent work which is being done in that country for the material and moral improvement of the people. If, however, I were called upon to advise or undertake the inauguration of a scheme in India to give effect to similar principles, I should avoid the inconvenience of three or four coordinate agencies working separately, though tactfully, I should have one central bureau attached to each of the local Provincial Governments with one central supervising and controlling or rather, consulting and guiding, staff attached to the office of the Viceroy of India. With this modification, I believe, the Irish pattern ought to answer very well in India.

I need not more than touch upon the landlord difficulty in Ireland. The Irish peasant attributes, or is taught by certain well-meaning patriots to attribute, most of their misery to the existence of landlord rights. I fancy many of the landlords must be very badly advised to evict tenants wholesale with the object of raising rents. They act really against their own interest in resorting to such objectionable methods. The grant of long leases, with ample inducements to the tenants to improve their holdings, and a wise outlay on general improvements, by drainage and others means, on their estates, would be the most sane policy for them to follow; evidently they have their own motives and their own difficulties. But it goes without saying that the agricultural industry cannot prosper and enterprise cannot spring up unless the tenants feel a certainty that the fruits of their labour will not be unfairly taken away from them. Fair rents, judicious rather than judicial rents, and long-term leases appear to be essential if the contentment and progress of the agricultural community are to be studied. There are landlords and landlords; it is the injudicious landlords who provoke resentment against the whole class. Who can say, for instance, that the Duchess of Castlerock at Killarney who maintains a carpentry school for the advancement of the people in the neighbourhood is not a beneficent lady?

But the idea of many sensible people is to buy out the landlord's interest and to parcel out the land among the tenant the principle of petty-proprietorship. I only hope my fear the gombeen man will eventually step into the shoes present landlord will not prove real. How much wo "gombeen" landlord will prove himself to be can only gined by people who made his acquaintance in some parts of India—a regular blood-sucker is he! But I daresay with the spread of education and by the acquisition by the peasantry of the virtues of thrift, prudence, and working in associated institutions for their corporate welfare, the gombeen man will disappear or will be made subservient to the common good of society. I am inclined to believe that, on the whole, the efforts of the leading men who are at the head of the several institutions referred to hereinabove will be so far blessed as that things will take a decidedly favourable turn in this respect.

About educational aims and objects there appeared to me to be a want of unanimity among the men of light and leading; but the question is at present engaging serious attention. The longer its solution is delayed, the greater will be the harm. My humble opinion is that the State must take in its own hands compulsory primary and secondary Secular Education on non-denominational lines, the rest must be left to voluntary effort. The same principle might be applied to the solution of the question of Higher and University education. For the mass of people, I think, the Slojd-system of combined elementary and technical education to be most suitable and well worthy of trial. At present the idea of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction appears to be to work in unison with the existing National Education Department and to encourage technical and industrial education by means of scholarships and stipends to deserving youths to join Technical Schools, which will be founded. But such a scheme cannot, I fear, reach the majority of the boys and girls who cease to attend national schools in the rural areas after they attain the age of thirteen or fourteen; and unless industries arose in the country suited to afford employment to the growing population, emigration to America and other countries will not slacken; and emigration of the population is, above all, the one feature in the Irish problem which is supposed to be unsatisfactory. My impression is that in wishing to keep the population in ever-increasing numbers on such a soil and in such conditions as exist in, say, West Galway, one is fighting against nature, and I ask *à quoi bon?*

VI.

To sum up. I think the following measures to be needful:—

(1) *Education*—compulsory education on the Slojd-system;—special schools for technical education.

(2) Development of the industrial resources of the country.

) Development of agriculture and handicrafts.

Light and varying land-tax with fixity of tenure, combined with organisation of mutual credit associations and special Courts of Conciliation for settlement of agricultural suits.

(5) Development of the means of transport and other facilities for traffic by means of railways and navigable canals where practicable.

(6) Increase of irrigational means by construction of wells and rain storage works.

(7) Drainage of water-logged tracts.

[6 and 7 may be grouped with 2.]

(8) Formation of Central Bureaux to carry out all or some of the above objects.

The adoption in India of all these measures, not piecemeal but together, will serve to bring about an amelioration of the condition of the peasantry. This is the hope which my experience of the land and the people leads me to form.[*]

V. M. SAMARTH.
London.

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[*] The above paper, by a high administrative officer of a leading Native S
contains more striking and first-hand information regarding Indian Fami
and what a tale it reveals of " the brief and simple annals of the poor ! "
half of all the publications official and other we have been closed with *ad*
on the important subject.—ED.

ART. XI.—THE REMARRIAGE OF HINDU WIDOWS.

THE introduction of English education into Bengal in the early years of the XIXth century brought to the people a new light that tended to dispel with amazing rapidity the gloom of ignorance and superstition. It fructified in a many-sided activity of the people in different departments of human concern. As a consequence of exclusiveness the people had so long been satisfied with the fancied excellence of their own institutions; but contact with the West revealed to them quite a different order of things. The quickened intelligence of the people at once recognised its superiority in many points; and the growing thirst after a better mode of living gave rise to an eager desire for reform. The most striking point of dissimilarity between the East and the West appeared to be the different degrees of liberty granted to individuals. Would it not be better for the Hindu to be less society-ridden? Was it not, for instance, seriously prejudicial to her happiness and healthy development that woman was in such hapless bondage in India? Should she not have a voice even in such an all-important matter as marriage? Why should she be compelled to lead a single life after the unhappy accident of her first husband's death and suffer all the privations consequent thereto?

Such a train of reasoning led the educated Bengalees of the middle of the century to strive for the abolition of the custom of enforced widowhood. The most prominent of these whose name will be gratefully remembered in connection with questions of social reform for a long time to come, was the late Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. He proved to a demonstration that the Hindu Sastras gave the option of remarriage to widows in unequivocal terms. A great agitation followed in which he triumphantly held his own; and the legislature passed a bill conferring legitimacy on the children of married widows. That day removed all the legal obstacles on the way of the reform; yet the number is very small of the widows who have sought help of law in this period of about half a century. The fact is that on many points our practice runs counter to our professions of following our scriptures. Although, therefore, the proof of the sanction of [illegible]he Sastras was good in its own way, silencing those whose [illegible]terest or inclination it was to play upon the ignorance of [illegible] orthodox, it has gone a very short way in popularising [illegible]rriage of widows. When considering this phenomenon [illegible] impossible to resist the [illegible] "Why is it that while the custom of widow-marriage obtains in every other society, in India and India alone of all the countries on the earth it is so much in disfavour?"

It is, therefore, our present duty to enquire not into the scriptural authority for remarriage of widows, for that will leave us exactly where we are both as regard theory and as regard practice,—but into the advisability or otherwise of the reform in the light of its effects on society.

I shall begin by stating why the Hindus are so very apathetic to reform in this direction.

1. In the first place this apathy of the Hindus strikes the eyes of the reformers in extremely magnified proportions; for instances of widow-marriage are not so rare in our society as they appear. More than half the Hindus of every province of India excepting Bengal give legal and moral sanction to widow-marriage as a recognised social institution. Almost all the lower classes of the Hindus in the other provinces allow their widows to marry; and their children inherit their father's property like children by the first marriage. Among the higher classes, however, the custom prevails in no part of India. It is only in Bengal that the example of the higher classes has influenced the lower grades of society too. But even in Bengal remarriage of widows is not quite unknown. We all know that in many cases widows belonging to the lower classes of Bengal, when they desire remarriage, enter the sect of *Chaitanya*, procure themselves husbands in the sect, and pass for *Vaisnavis*. The custom of keeping mistresses under the guise of maid servants also obviates the difficulty to some extent. Besides, overt widow-marriages sometimes, though rarely, take place among the lowest classes in the bosom of the society itself. It will thus be seen that practically the custom is non-existent among the gentry only. The need for reform, in this direction, therefore, is not so great as may at first sight appear.

2. Secondly, India is a hot country; and in hot countries youth developes and dies out early. Hence the need for remarriage, when the whole body of widows is considered collectively, is much less here than in colder countries. A few figures will clear the point (these figures are taken from late Babu Bhudeb Mukherji's works). In India the number of widows among the Hindus is 19·7 per cent. of the whole female population, among the Mahomedans 17·1 per cent., and among the Christians 15·5 per cent. now, Mahomedans and Christians make no scruples to marry their widows; and yet the percentage of widows among these two classes is n[illegible] much below that among the Hindus. The catching exam[illegible] of the Hindus, the pred[illegible] section of the people, is[illegible]

enough to explain away this phenomenon. For while in the warm climate of Greece the percentage is as high as twelve, in the extremely cold climate of Scandinavia it falls as low as three. The real explanation seems to be that in hot countries the early disappearance of youth reduces the necessity of remarriage to the minimum, and hence the high percentage of widows in such countries.

3. Thirdly, the prevalence of early marriage among the Hindus appears to me as one of the reasons why the need for widow-marriage is less felt here than elsewhere. This may seem paradoxical ; for the greater the number of child wives, the greater must be the number of young widows, and hence the greater the need for marrying them again. But there is another side of early marriage. When people marry early as the Hindus, conjugal love springs up in the plastic period of budding youth ; besides there is no possibility of youths entertaining love for persons whom they are destined not to marry. These two circumstances make conjugal love a stronger bond among the Hindus than among other peoples. The Hindu girl almost universally loves her husband. And even when she is left a widow, her heart overflowing with love for her departed husband can scarcely make room for amorous feelings for a new comer. The Hindu widow can thus resist the temptation of looking for a fresh matrimonial match with much greater ease than widows who had been sought after and accepted as wives at a comparatively advanced age.

4. By something like a process of natural adjustment our widows become reconciled to their lot and feel the need of remarriage so much the less for it. When something is positively known to be wrong or impossible, the hankering after it is much less than otherwise. Now, so far, as the higher classes of the Hindus are concerned, our society has been unused to widow marriage for centuries, and in course of time the widows have come to regard their position as inevitable in the very nature of things. Besides, the belief of the Hindus in an unknown fate makes their lot more easily bearable to them. Thus fatalism, ignorance and time-honoured custom, have all tended to discourage in our widows the natural craving for marriage.

These are the chief causes that reduce to the smallest compass the need for remarriage on the part of Hindu widows. But all these notwithstanding, right-minded men cannot but wish in the heart of their hearts that some of our widows were given in marriage again. There are important reasons for it.

To all average human beings the need for love is imperative ;

and it is no less so to a young woman only because she has had the misfortune to be bereaved of her husband. Besides, the privations that Hindu widows have to suffer are too many and too trying for the stoutest heart. It is heart-rending to see a girl of ten years or so to forego all her comforts in life, nay even necessaries, on account of widowhood brought about by the indiscretion of parents long before the conjugal instincts are developed. A few years ago, an elderly lady, in course of conversation, fell to talk about her own widowhood with a friend of mine who was her sister's husband. She became a widow when only nine years old. As the conversation grew warm all the reminiscences of her privations began to revive. Her heart was full and the narration became more and more pathetic. Tears began to flow down her cheeks when overwhelmed with emotion, she told the tale of her sufferings from hunger in early youth. She could forget every thing and bear every other privation, she said; but the memory of the hungry nights she had to pass would accompany her to the grave. Is there a man on earth who can listen to this tale of woe unmoved?

There is another important consideration. Formerly it was the system of joint families that gave protection to Hindu widows. But the system is breaking down, and the struggle for existence is growing harder day by day. Under these circumstances ties of distant relationship will not be enough to secure for the widow the amount of care and attention that she had hitherto enjoyed. The only way in which her maintenance can be ensured, is either to allow her to marry again, or to enable her to earn for herself. The latter alternative, however, will defeat its own object. For if the widow succeed in making her independent of others, there will be none so powerful as to restrain her if she will choose to marry. But in India where even men can hardly eke out their subsistence, women must inevitably rest content with their lot of dependence. Hence, remarriage is perhaps the only course left to our widows for their daily bread as well as that protection of men that they cannot do without.

But the advocates of enforced widowhood may raise many objections which I shall now consider one by one.

1. Their first objection is that widow-marriage removes all checks to population. Over population must bring in starvation and all its concomitant evils. Now, the fertility of man is so very great that if there be no check to population it must increase much more rapidly than the supply of food. And hence the need for the prudential check as proposed by Malthus. Enforced widowhood acts as such a check so far as those widows are concerned who are not yet too old to

bear children. Remarriage of widows, therefore, is against the Malthusian doctrine and should be discouraged in the true interests of society, though that may cause present misery to some.

2. The second objection to widow-marriage is, perhaps, still more weighty. Darwin records that the mother form is permanently affected by the husband. If the female of an animal be paired on two occasions with two males belonging to different species, the young one brought forth after the second gestation may inherit some of the properties of the animal with which the mother had been paired on the first occasion. Such is the influence of the husband on the maturity of woman that if a European lady left a widow by a Chinese, for instance, marry a European gentleman, her children by the second husband may be born with a Chinese physiognomy. If this be true, neither the considerations of purity of breed, nor those of hereditary transmission of one's own qualities to posterity, will justify the remarriage of widows. Besides diseases of the first husband of a woman may be transmitted through her to the children of her second husband. Hence, after all, enforced widowhood may not be so bad as it seems to be.

3. Apropos of the question of children it must be said that they cannot but be neglected if their widowed mother marry again. After the father's death the mother's care must supply the want of the father too. But if the child accompany the mother to the stepfather's house, it is sure to be neglected more or less. This view is not the result of mere abstract reasoning, but is confirmed by our every day experiences of the lower classes of Bengal Mahomedans. There may be honorable exceptions, but that does not disprove the rule. Then again, when the child is left to the care of its father's relatives, it suffers the double advantage of being bereaved of its father by death, and of its mother by marriage. Now, as the primary object of marriage is to rear a family, a system that is calculated to neglect children, defeats its own object and hence must be discountenanced. Nor are the children of a widow by her second husband quite free from injury. For when the mother sees the children of her former husband ill-treated, she cannot possibly give her whole heart to the man whom she inevitably holds responsible for all that there is an unhappy coldness in the family; and children born and brought up under such circumstances must be inferior in quality.

4. In every society the number of women is nearly equal to that of men. Hence the existence of old maids is a necessary corollery to remarriage of widows. If the lot of

the latter is to be lamented, why not that of the former too? Besides, as the widow has a more intimate knowledge of men than the maid, if she be allowed to remarry, her tactics are more likely to succeed with men looking for wives than those of the simple maid. Is free competition in such a case compatible with justice? Would it not be more equitable to give one and only one chance of married life to every competitor?

5. Opponents of enforced widowhood argue that it is unjust to widows to refuse them liberty of action when they desire remarriage. But as has been pointed out justice to widows may mean injustice to maids. Moreover society is an organization of conflicting forces; and the stronger forces must more than neutralise the weaker ones. Every section of society seeks its own interest; and in the collision of different interests, survival of the fittest must be the ultimate law. If the collective interests of society calls for a sacrifice on the part of widows, there is ample justification for putting restraints on their liberty. The history of man is the history of the sacrifices of the interests of small sections of society for the good, real or supposed, of its preponderating majority. Hence, until and unless other reasons can be given to show the expediency of widow marriage mere considerations of abstract justice will carry no weight.

A modified form of the cry for liberty of action is the argument that since man and woman are born equal, the widow is as reasonably entitled to remarriage as the widower. But this alleged equality is more supposed than real. In the propagation of the species, the two parents have very different functions to perform. Nature compels the mother to undergo all the hardship of pregnancy, while the father enjoys perfect immunity from them. After the birth of the child the father's help may be entirely dispensed with, but the mother's care is indispensable for a long time. Some medical men go to the length of saying that child-bearing is to some extent necessary for the health of woman. Women lose the power of reproduction much faster than men. And if physical charms are among the elements that determine sexual selection, nature has placed woman at a disadvantage in comparison with man in that respect too. It is, therefore, quite evident that woman is not equal to man so far as the propagation of the species is concerned. And hence the invalidity of the argument of the advocates of widow-marriage on the ground of equality of man and woman.

6. There is yet another argument in favour of enforced widowhood. One of the distinctive traits of European life is obtrusive assertion of individuality; but the whole tenour of the Hindu society is against it. Enforced widowhood is only

one of the customs that serve to submerge individuality under the authority of society. Europe is active and combative, India meditative and peaceful. If we surrender our individuality, we gain in peace in proportion. Hence, Hindu widows cannot be allowed to remarry unless the Hindus are ready to change the spirit of their society very radically and sacrifice the social peace that they have been enjoying.

I believe I have enumerated above all the important arguments in favour of enforced widowhood. I shall now try to answer them one by one.

1. As regards the theory of over-population absence of widow-marriage does not really act as a check to it. For the number of marriageable widows is small in comparison with the whole body of grown up women capable of bearing children. Besides if every man must have a wife, as the case is among the Hindus, so far as population is concerned, the effect is the same whether he marries a maid or a widow. Thus the argument based on apprehensions of over population at once falls through. If there is to be any check on population, some men must go without wives; or the number of children begotten by a man must not exceed a certain limit. But enforced widowhood helps on neither of the two ends.

Moreover, I for one would not put any check on the growth of our population in the present circumstances of our country. To me it seems that one of the chief reasons why India is not colonised by the Europeans is that she is already very densely inhabited. If colonisation were to begin, who knows but that we would not be extinct like the Red Indians? Then again the Mahommedan population of the country is increasing rapidly. If the Hindus are to hold their own against them, they must take care that their number may not remain stationary. I admit that population cannot exceed the country's power to support. But in order to establish his theory the opponent must prove that the limit of that power has been already reached. Even at that limiting stage, I would like to have an ever-increasing population with the result that the unfit will succumb to the struggle for existence while the fittest will survive.

2. As regards the theory of the permanent influence of the husband on the mother form, the evil is not so great as may be supposed. In the case of child-widows at least the evil is quite non-existent. And as to those who are bereaved of their hus- ands later, the evil is not great enough to outweigh other con- iderations. If the Hindus were to marry widows of Chinamen Negroes, they might sometimes beget children with the iognomic peculiarities of those two races. But all that is d is that a Hindu will marry a widow of another Hindu

and that of his own caste. And in that case children are not likely to inherit any perceptible peculiarity of features due to the influence of their mother's first husband that may be repugnant to their father. Then as regards the transmission of diseases, there is some risk in every marriage; for the heredity as well as the individuality of the mother count for as much as those of the father. If then individual wisdom may be trusted in the case of ordinary marriages, there is little cause of interference in the remarriage of a widow. A man must suffer for his indiscretion if he marry the widow of a diseased man; and his example will act as a deterrent to others. It is unnecessary, nay even officious, for society to try to regulate such private concerns.

3. As regards the argument of the neglect of children by the first husband, that does not apply to the case of childless widows. So, the advisability of their remarriage is conceded on this point. Then as regards widows with children, it must be admitted that when society will allow widows to remarry, some widowed mothers will surely take advantage of the indulgence. But if their maternal instincts coupled with fear of public opinion fail to outweigh their desire for personal comforts, it will be better in the interests both of morality and of suffering humanity that they should marry again. For the need for marriage must be the greatest in their case. I have personal experience of two widows belonging to a low caste of Bengal. One of these had none to support her among the relatives of her deceased husband. The brother of the woman voluntarily offered his help; but she wanted to join the sect of *Chaitanya,* which as has been previously said, allows all women to procure themselves husbands under the guise of companions. The brother persisting in dissuading her, she openly replied that if she were not allowed to follow her bent, disgrace might be brought on the family. So, the relatives desisted and she became a *Vaisnavi,* or in other words, married again under that name. The other woman was a mother. Yet she left her girl behind to the care of her relatives and became a Vaisnavi herself. Now, as everybody knows, the majority of the present followers of *Chaitanya's* tenets are vagabonds maintaining themselves by begging and begging alone. If so, is not the custom of enforced widowhood, as it obtains in Bengal, equivalent to setting a premium on becoming vagabonds? It may be argued that cases like the above are rare and disgraceful. But the truth is that such cases are not very rare i[illegible] comparison with the number of marriageable widows amon[illegible] the lower classes. And as regards their being disgracef[illegible] it is all important to remember that laws are necessary [illegible] so much for the guidance of worthy members of socie[illegible] for regulating the worst.

4. Next comes in the case of maids *versus* widows. It is true that if every man were to be satisfied with one wife there would be a number of old maids; nay, even after making allowance for the remarriage of widowers and bigamy on the part of some childless men, we may count upon it that a number of maids will go unmarried if widows were to remarry. But the institution of celebacy is often a necessity for the good of society. A country where every woman must accept a husband can scarcely boast of such angels as the "Little Sisters of the Poor." The opponent will certainly argue that widows may undertake such philanthropic work. But the answer is that free competition is the best even in philanthropy. One cannot be philanthropic on compulsion; nor does the mere fact of widowhood create philanthropic resolves in the mind. There are widows who would fain remarry. There may be maidens who by instinct and education are better fitted for a single life. If, therefore, some women must lead a single life, whether as maids or widows, the least hardship is entailed when the best fitted are allowed to do so. Then as regards the better chance of widows with their experience of men, public opinion may be depended on as a wholesome corrective on that score. For human nature must everywhere give preference to the marriage of a virgin, and more or less discountenance that of a widow. Besides the natural affection for children will always exercise some influence on the decision of the widowed mother.

In one case at least widows should be preferred to maids. When widowers marry again, it is better for both the parties th match be made with a widow. A widower can scarce- imself perfectly agreeable to a virgin. Disparity of a fruitful source of unhappiness. Moreover a o an elderly widower is almost sure to be left .. But all these difficulties may be obviated if the m of widow marriage be introduced, the past experiences a widow and a widower being similar, like birds of a feather they will naturally flock together. Neither of them will expect an excess of conjugal happiness. There will be no such overflow of any craving in the one as the other will fail to satisfy. Children too, by a former husband, are less likely to cause jealousy in this case. And lastly, widowers marrying widows, which must be the case at least to some extent, if allowed, the problem of old maids also becomes less rious.

5. It is true that society will ever disregard the argument justice in the abstract when that is not found expedient the bargain. But if justice will not carry the day before ngth certainly will. The male population of India is

being educated; and hence the education of our women is only a question of time. For educated men cannot be satisfied with uneducated wives; nor can they bear to see their daughters grovel in the mire of utter ignorance all their lives. With the spread of civilisation the due discharge of the most important duty of woman, the rearing of children, will make female education a *sine quâ non.* Thus alike by interest and by inclination we shall be led to educate our womanhood. They will then come to know the condition of their sisters elsewhere, and learn to correctly measure the peculiar disadvantages of their own position by comparison. The fatalism that reconciles them to their hard lot now, will be altogether dispelled before the light of Western thought. When that moment will arrive at last, our women will certainly make society responsible for their sufferings and resent the restraints upon their liberty of action. The power of knowledge will then enable them to enforce their claims. If the opponent is not ready to make any concession on the ground of justice, willy-nilly he must yield to the indisputable right of might. If no other consideration in favour of widow-marriage carry any weight with him, it will be wisdom on his part to accept the inevitable rather than chafe at it.

6. One word more and I have done. Certainly the Hindu society is pre-eminently peaceful. But peace is not the only object in social organisation. Progress is a higher end than peace; for stagnation is death. Now, progress presupposes combativeness and assertion of individuality. If, then, the social peace of the Hindus is attained at the sacrifice of these, the sooner we bid farewell to it, the better it will be for us. Hence, the argument that the introduction of the custom of remarriage of widows will do violence to the peaceful tenour of the Hindu life, should not be allowed to act as a deterrent.

PORESH NATH BANERJI, B.A.

ART. XII.—A SONG OF PEACE.

For the 1st of June 1902.

Beam of the sun, O fairest divinest
Of all that have cheered us, O glorious ray
On the realms of the Briton at length thou shinest
Joy-giving eye of the golden day.[*]
Piercing through clouds of strife and sin
The Jocund June thou usherest in.

Peace thou bringest, the war is over,
Brothers and sons return again,
Back to the blythe maid comes her lover,
Back to the spouse her spouse full fain.
But ah for those who return no more.
But ah for those who their loss deplore.

Ye mourners, whose bravest and best have striven
And died for our land in the hour of need,
What for comfort to you may be given
Whose hearts, while others rejoice, must bleed?
Sublime is his death and fair his fall
Who gives his life at duty's call.

"He died as is seemly for youths to die,[†]
For ever lives he for glory's sake,[‡]
We gave our best, so hold we high
The head, albeit the full heart break"
So shall ye commune with your heart
Till triumph half assuage the smart.

Our hands to the foe. They met us bravely,
Fought while a hope was left them yet.

See the opening lines of the 1st chorus of Antigone.

A line of Sophocles' Electra.

or these since they fell for the common weal are held to live for glory's sake. Justinian's Institutes, B. K. 1, Tit. 25.

Now as brethren meet we suavely,
Once to the treaty our hands we set,
A star in the crown of our race shall be
South Africa, united, free.

And thou, O Albion, whose fair sweet rose is
Emblem of triumph far and wide,
Remember Erin, remember those whose
Mother is she, who stood beside
Thy sons on many a stricken field
And died that stainless be thy shield.

Their hearts own rose not thine red or white is,
But the little black rose by rough winds marred,
Yet which ever sweeter ever more bright is
For them that frosts have her fair leaves scarred.
The rose of Erin—old yet new—
The little black rose—Roisin geal dhu.

Soon, oh soon, may she take her stand by
Thy side, as a queen with helmet on hair,
And glaive at side, bound but a band by
Of love to thee. No more to bear
The galling links of iron chain
With which thou hast fettered her in vain.

Vainly thou plunged'st her 'neath the deep seas,
Ever emerged she yet more fair.
Though over her of black sorrow sweep seas
Steadfast she is and staunch to bear,
Invincible, proud, firm of soul
Which force unjust may ne'er control.

M. R. WELD.

ART. XIII.—PHILOMEL.

Upon a perfect night at close of May,
An hour to midnight, with the moon at full
Shining through white cloud round and soft as wool,
I heard the nightingale sing on a tree
So clearly that I could not choose but stay
To hear. I lay down at the grassy edge
Of the white road beside the boundary hedge
Listening—And as to Siegfried so to me
The wood-bird's thrilling voice familiar grew
And ever plainer, till the sense I knew
Of every liquid long-drawn lovely note
Issuing from the songster's throbbing throat,
So that in vocal speech I heard her tell
The woeful fate of Tereus, Proene, Philomel.

" *Tereu, Tereu, Tereu !*
My love and then my foe,
In the dark days so long ago,
You wrought on me, I wrought on you
Wrongs ne'er to be amended,
Hate entered in and love fled fro'
My heart—Your heart,
And in wrong's bitter smart
Our sweet love ended.

" My sire Pandion's palace rose
On that rock above the town
Of wise Athene, of the violet crown
Whence the eye views the sea that flows
Washing all the coast sheep-clad
Of Attica—Pandion's chief delight
Was in his daughters, she that Proene hiht
The elder—and I, Philomel
he younger—ah what tongue might tell

All the delights we had
While we two sisters in his hold did dwell.

"From Daulis came you, prince of warlike Thrace
Tereus, of ancient race,
With ships a many and a gallant host,
To where Piraeus' haven indents our sheep-clad coas
To help Pandion in his need.
Victorious o'er his foes you had for meed
The hand of Proene, and set sail
Northward with favouring gale.
Back you came in two years saying her life
Was ended, leaving a babe motherless
Ityn, and begged your lonely hearth to bless
That I would be your wife,
And the babe's mother. Not vainly did you plead
My sire and my fond heart agreed,
So forth we fared and came to Thrace,
And all seemed well with us; no trace
Of woes to come might be discerned.
With love my full heart toward you yearned,
Cradled upon my bosom deep
As he were mine, I hushed the babe to sleep,
Nor care nor trouble knew.

"*Tereu, Tereu, Tereu!*
My love and then my foe,
In the dark days so long ago,
You wrought on me, I wrought on you
Wrongs ne'er to be amended.
Hate entered in and love fled fro'
My heart—your heart,
And in wrong's bitter smart
Our sweet love ended.

"But oft I loved to roam unseen
'Neath deep woods' canopy of green,

To dance to sing in joyous mood
Through the cool silent solitude—
Ah—ah—the thought still turns my heart to stone—
I came upon a cottage small and lone
An aged crone slept by the strong locked door
Weighed down with weight of years fourscore.
I passed her, turned the key and entered the poor place
And—met my sister Proene face to face!—
Dumb, she had woven what showed to me
All your treacherous cruelty.
How could you let your heart inspire
Your hand to deed so dire?
How could it school your tongue to tell
That lying tale so well?
You had cut out Proene's tongue
And hidden her the woods among,
Thinking that dumb she could not tell
The tale of her woe and all would be well,
Her woe—my shame—I knew.

"*Tereu, Tereu, Tereu!*
My love and then my foe,
In the dark days so long ago
You wrought on me, I wrought on you
Wrongs ne'er to be amended,
Hate entered in and love fled fro'
My heart—your heart,
Till in wrong's bitter smart
Our sweet love ended.

"When the woven symbols I understood
I cried to Proene 'sister sweet'
You shall have vengeance, full, complete,
Come—and with me she came,
And I planned to avenge her woe and my shame
As we ran to your palace through the wood,

Entering, I set the lights a glow
On the festive board, a goodly show,
Ityn, the hapless babe, I slew
Seethed as kid, and served to you,
And when you had eaten I flung his head
Before you upon the board and fled—
Oh joyful feast—oh ending sad !—
You sprang to your feet as you were mad
Caught down your bare sword and pursued
My sister and me along the wood—
We fled before, you followed behind,
You would soon have caught us, but the kind
Gods interposed to save us two,
They changed you to a bold hoopoo—
See—the haughty crest you used to bear
Erect on your helmet still you wear—
Proene's a swallow swift of flight,
And I the bird that sings by night—
Ho crested bold hoopoo.

" *Tereu, Tereu, Tereu !*
My love and then my foe,
In the dark days so long ago
You wrought on me, I wrought on you
Wrongs ne'er to be amended.
Hate entered in and love fled fro'
My heart—your heart,
And in wrong's bitter smart
Our sweet love ended.

" Proene, the swallow, is swift of wing,
You cut out her tongue, so she cannot sing,
But I fill the woods with my complaint
When shines the moon, when clouds drop rain,
When every other voice is mute
And sleep possesseth man and brute
To the world around to the heavens above

Your name I cry, my foe that were my love.
I mourn the hapless babe I slew
ter's child she bore to you—
more will be open those eyes
still held the blue of the skies—
From t ath in my heart and remorse within
His name I cry "Ityn-Ityn"—
It was an evil deed, I know,
To smite through the babe his sire, my foe,—
But 'twas so long ago!

Must you for ever be my foe?
Must ghosts for ever more arise
Out of the past to cloud our eyes?
Proene, contented with her lot,
Hath love and sorrow alike forgot.
But I yearn to renew my lost delight,
And I pour my prayer on the listening night,
Be mirky heaven or blue.

"*Tereu, Tereu, Tereu!*
My love—and then my foe,
Dead are those days so long ago
When you on me, when I on you
Wrought wrongs—Be they amended.
Let love return—Let hate flee fro'
Your heart—my heart,
And be the bitter smart
Of our wrongs ended."

M. R. WELD.

THE QUARTER.

HOME AND FOREIGN.

SINCE our last appearance the Boers have accepted the terms of peace, and fully 20,000, (where we expected there were only some 8,000) troops have laid down their arms. The war might have been prolonged by them for even another year! To the King and Dr. Cuyper of Holland is due this ending of a most insane and wicked "war" which ought never to have been entered on. It has wrought England incalculable harm—not only in the mere losses in men, some 21,000 killed and 80,000 invalided and £200,000,000 in money, but—in the loss of position all over the world, especially in China, in the "alliance" with Japan (!), and even in the influence of the Colonies being brought into the councils of England. The terms of peace, too, forced as they were, are not such as to give confidence. Mr. Morley expressed the truth when he said in a speech at Edinburgh that "the war ends in uncompensating the mischief of irreparable wrong." And yet let us believe in the "larger hope" of the poet. God's plans of working are beyond our ken; and He brings good out of evil. Much will depend on three points which were also mentioned by Mr. Morley:—"The first was that all depended on the spirit in which it was carried out, and the second that all depended on the vigilance with which the Parliament here, the Cabinet, and public opinion watched the carrying out of the settlement. And further, he was persuaded that the rising in the Transvaal which ended in Majuba was due to the failure to carry out promptly the promises that both Governments—Liberal and Conservative—had made." That the "peace" has been a forced one may be seen from all the documents issued by the Boer leaders during and subsequent to the Conference. The Resolution adopted at Vereeniging ran as follows:—"That this meeting of representatives of the Transvaal and Orange Free State people learns with regret that the conditions of His Majesty's Government must be agreed to just as they are or not at all. It deplores the refusal of the British Government to negotiate on the basis of independence or to allow the Transvaal Government to enter into communication with the delegates in Europe." After reciting the results of the war, the devastations of the country, the formation of concentration camps, the hostile attitude of the natives, the threatened confiscation of the Burghers' property, and impossibility of retaining prisoners captured from the British, while Boer prisoners were being deported, "the small fighting remnant were in a state of starvation and destitution, and there was no expectation of victory."

The "farewell" message from the Boer Chiefs to their followers is also as follows :—Open letter to all officers, officials and Burghers at the South African Republic, who have, up to the present, faithfully fulfilled their duty to the land and people.

FELLOW BRETHREN AND COUNTRYMEN.—We feel it our duty to address a word of thanks and farewell to you on ending our struggle. It is our duty to inform you that Peace has now been concluded in the manner and on the terms set forth in the Agreement to be signed by the two Governments, and on the grounds set forth in the Resolution this day adopted by the Burgher Assembly at Vereeniging. We heartily thank you for your heroism, for your sacrifice of so much that was dear to and beloved by you, for your obedience, and for your faithful discharge of duty, all of which serves to the honour and glory of the Afrikander people. We counsel you all to acquiesce in the Peace, to conduct yourselves quietly and peacefully, to obey and respect the new Government. Further, we would inform you that a Head Commission has been appointed by the Representatives of the two States for the purpose of obtaining money and means to provide, as far possible, for the widows and orphans whose husbands and fathers have given their lives in the struggle for freedom and justice, and whose memory will ever remain in our history. We would also here express our heartfelt sympathy with those who mourn and pray that God may give them strength to bear their cross. We would also speak a word of praise and thanks to our women and children, who have so heroically borne the most bitter sacrifices and suffering.

Now there is Peace, and although not a Peace such as we longed for, yet let us abide where God has led us. We can with a clear conscience declare that for two and a half years our people carried on a struggle in a manner almost unknown to history. Let us now grasp each other's hands, for another great struggle lies before us, for the spiritual and social prosperity and welfare of our people. Casting aside all feelings of bitterness, let us learn to forget and forgive, so that the deep wounds caused in this war may be healed.

S. W. BURGER.
Vereeniging, May 31st, 1902. LOUIS BOTHA.

And only a day or two ago at a Meeting at Paarl, which is the Dutch centre at the Cape, General Botha said that they were not vanquished. Africa was their fatherland, and they must strive to make it a happy home. They must educate the rising generation so that they might be among the future rulers of the land.

That peace has come about is due really to both parties being heartily sick of the prolonged fight. The old President Kruger, who was so vilely misled by every one (*except by us*) continues in Holland, and is stated to be about to publish an *apologia* in the shape of documents, giving the origin and cause of the struggle. Dr. Leyds and Mr. Rhodes were at the bottom of it—the originators: one by his clever lies and sheer stupidity and inability to see ahead, and the other by his infamous greed as confessed by himself. After them come the lying "League," and the *Times*—creatures we may say of Rhodes. France and Germany nefariously helped on the devil's game. The others such as Chamberlain, Farelly—an Irish barrister employed at one time previous to the war in widening the breach between the Boers and the British, and afterwards during the war in showing how wrong the Boers were!—and even Milner, were mere deluded victims whose political foresight, perspicuity of judgment and ideas of honor were equal and coincident. Even to the last the *Times* has (just reiterated for "the-man-in-the-street," that is, the ignorant mob, that Mr. Chamberlain is remarkable "for his insight into and grasp of the essential features of large questions (!), his contempt of shams and irrelevance (!!), and his noble patriotism" (!!!). We are afraid that "large questions" and what is "irrelevance," are alike unapprehended by both Mr. Chamberlain and his apologist, and that both are pretty much on a par in being very much of "shams." To prove what we say would require a whole political treatise of several hundred pages, for which we have not, we regret, life enough to spare. It will require a long period of rest from the reigning fallacies and madnesses of the hour for the old sobriety of thought and judgment, before Messrs. Rhodes, Brummagem & Co., came on the scene, to come round again, and the truths of things to be clearly seen. When even liberty of speech was impossible in the land supposed to be the freest under the sun, and a man was hounded as a traitor for speaking the truth for the honor and love of his country, the state of mental madness and delusion that reigned may be imagined. We do not here refer to the wild shrieks of unreason of one who has gloried in repeating that a Judge from the Bench had declared him to be a "disgrace to journalism," and who really only served to fan the flames of passion during the ill-starred contest. As for all the talk about the "loyal" help given by Canada and Australia (—is it a confession that England with half a million troops and the command of the sea could not lick fifty thousand undisciplined farmers?—) it will be found that the former made a very serious mistake in entering into the fray; and as we have before maintained, the latter only sent over her "unemployed" at England's expense. Australia is to overflowing of these, as may be seen from the "rush" without soldiers' pay, etc., now being made from there to South Africa, on which the authorities have been actually obliged to impose restrictions. Thousands have been prevented from leaving as they had no means of subsistence after landing at the Cape! And these are the men who ran down the British Army and our British Officers, and whom Messrs. Brummagem & Co. are willing—nay, glad—to take into our State Councils.

We trust, now, that South Africa will quietly sink back into its former obscurity and political insignificance. General Lyttelton remains in military command with some 50,000 or 60,000 troops. He is a *persona grata*—as we showed some time back—with the Boers. And before we conclude here, let us observe that unhappy and poor Lord Milner's troubles have only begun—and so, too, the troubles of the once lordly millionaire and dissatisfied mine-owners. For, the former—Milner—does not know, and never will know, the Boer character, and will bungle over the "settlement," with or without the question of the suspension of the Constitution; and the latter will not be able to find labour for the mines, at the same time, that a law imposing a tax of 10 per cent. on the nett profits of the mines has been promulgated in the Transvaal, and there is no "Grandmother" (England) now to shriek to. The thousands of make-bate "Jews"—mostly Germans and other Continental—will also find their "occupation gone"—most of them obliged to clear out to some other "Land of Promise!" As for the "League," it ought to be suppressed by Government. Let us now turn to mere appropriate and congenial objects for our consideration only finally observing that South Africa will furnish many another surprise as it is the Land of Surprises and Sudden Deaths!

The Coronation ceremony of King Edward did not come off owing to his sudden and grave indisposition, which being an internal abscess was only just discovered in time to save his life. "What a mercy!"—we might well exclaim both for himself and England. He overfed himself one evening with lampreys or lobsters—if we remember right a distinguished [illegible] decessor of his, King John, died of a surfeit of one or other [illegible] ese—and this indigestible feed with cold caused acute [illegible] mation and an abscess, which was near to bursting when [illegible] opened by Sir Frederick Treves, Sergeant Surgeon, and [illegible] pint evacuated! King Edward has thus a second time

been saved from the very brink of death, and on this occasion
a dramatic way that scattered suddenly to the winds all notio
of human reckoning and foresight. The *Times* a week befo
according to its wont, " improved " the occasion for " the-ma
in-the-street " :— ' To-day a week, memorable in the anna
of the new century, begins. Never in the long series
Coronations of British Sovereigns has there been a record
a ceremony of an equal significance from the Imperial poi
of view, as that of Thursday next. As the day approach
for the crowning of King Edward the Seventh in the presen
of the representatives of all peoples that are bound togeth
by the tie of allegiance to the Crown, the clouds which threa
ened to cast some shadows on the wonderful scene ha
been breaking. There is a prospect of undimmed brightne
both material and figurative." (!) But it all—tall writing
well as ceremony—went to the winds. From the extreme
thoughtless levity there was a sudden revulsion to humili
tion and prayer. So we have seen when a vessel was momen
arily expected to founder, everyone down on the knees wi
arms uplifted, " calling " most frantically on " their God " (s
Jonah)—men who daily led the most prayerless and godle
lives. However, King Edward has once more weathered
gale—the storm can only happen once—read *Matt.* vii, 25-27-
and is expected to be crowned on the 9th August, thoug
the ceremony will have lost most of its external pompo
surroundings of foreign princes, etc., and much of its unholy a
companying saturnalia of the *Times'* favourite, the " man-in-th
street." Imperial grandeur forsooth ;—imperial figment. R
joicing truly and indeed ;—drunkenness and bestiality. Pray
does not seem to come in at all, except for a few minutes
the Abbey or—when death suddenly stares in the face. Ala

Let us proceed to more general matters. Lord Salisbu
has resigned, and it was quite time. He fell away from t
old high traditions of the old Tory party when he follow
the lead of a clever *bizarre* Jew who brought in the tins
glitter of " imperialism " to England's shame. Even after th
Lord S.'s grasp of things was firm till he lost his will-pow
and made England to eat humble pie to the insane thre
of President Cleveland. Thereafter England under hi
went in for back seats, and humiliation followed humiliatio
loss followed loss—with not only the United States, but wi
Germany, Turkey, and others, the last disasters being in Ch
in the " Alliance " with Japan, and in South Africa. Sir Mic
Hicks-Beach, too, one of the three best men of the
leaves the Combination Troupe : and as Lord George H
another of the three, has often announced his wish
there will probably be a considerable shifting of t

on the board. Mr. A. J. Balfour has become Premier, and, of course, the greedy hanger-on Mr. Chamberlain stays on, The Combination of Whigs and Tories is complete—only Mr. Chamberlain is neither one nor the other—he is a nondescript product, and may be referred to the genus "Brummagem," or the "man-in-the-street." Lord Curzon's name has been mentioned as going home to join this *bizarre* Combination Troupe. We trust, for his own peace, comfort and reputation, he will do nothing of the kind. If he has the patience and wisdom to wait, he will find himself better off by and bye. Besides, he is wanted sorely in India for a long while to come, and we know of no one who could supply his place unless it be—LORD KITCHENER. If he could be Governor-General of the Soudan there is no reason why he should not be our next Viceroy. General Buller has published his famous heliogram, which fully bears out his contention. He neither advised nor suggested a surrender, but left the decision to White, after stating the difficulties. General Buller had the hardest part of the "War," and people who sit at home, or were having easy "triumphal progresses" on the field elsewhere, can have no idea of the difficulties of his situation. In the opinion of all honest men General Buller has amply justified himself. But he was an inconvenient rival, and had to be put away. And now even the *Broad Arrow* thinks that Lord Roberts as Commander-in-Chief is a mistake

We had no space in our last for the figures of the Home Budget, which were as follows:—

Estimated expenditure:—				
Consolidated Fund Charges	...	...	...	£29,450,000
Army Estimates ...	...	...	...	69,665 000
Navy Estimates ...	...	...	...	31,255,000
Civil Service Estimates	...	...	...	26,448,000
Customs and Inland Revenue	...	...	...	3,039,000
Postal Service ...	...	...	...	14,752,000
		Total	...	£174,609,000
Estimated receipts on basis of existing taxation:—				
Customs	...	...	...	£32,800,000
Excise	...	...	...	32,700,000
Death Duties ...	...	...	...	13,200,000
Stamps	...	...	...	8,200,000
Land Tax and House Duty	...	...	...	2,500,000
Income Tax ...	...	...	...	36,600,000
Post Office ...	...	...	...	14,800,000
Telegraphs ...	...	...	...	3,630,000
Crown Lands ...	...	...	...	475,000
Suez Canal, &c. ...	...	...	...	880,000
Miscellaneous ...	...	...	...	2,000,000
		Total	...	147,785,000
Estimated deficit	...	...	...	£26,824,000

Further war expenditure and help to sugar-growing Colonies, &c.		18,500,000
Total deficit, about		£45,500,000
PROPOSALS FOR MEETING THE DEFICIT.		
Increased Income Tax (1*d.*) ...	£2,000,000	
Increased stamp duties on cheques and dividend warrants (1*d.*)	500,000	
Duty on imported corn (3*d.* per cwt.) and flour (5*d.* per cwt.)	2,650,000	
Total receipts from new taxation		£5,150,000
Suspending the Sinking Fund, about		4,500,000
New Loan		32,000,000
Draft on Exchequer balances, about		3,500,000

Ireland is still giving trouble, and Lord Cadogan has resigned. There may be more serious trouble ahead. The Whig and Tory Combine may have its power knocked out of its hands. A Shipping Combine engineered by the American Morgan has made Great Britain uneasy. We have eighteen liners as subsidised Armed Cruisers, and owing to three of these having gone into the Combine, the most alarming apprehensions ar prevalent. We presume that both politically and commercially Mr. Morgan's Combine will be fully met by British mea sures. Finally, a Conference of Colonial Premiers are strivin to enter into some common plans for the defence of "th empire" and for trade—neither of which, we may say, will b accomplished. Our old friend (and neighbour in one of th most charming suburbs of Sydney—he was a pleasant delight ful young man in those days—) the Premier of Australia Mr. Barton, has shown his usual common-sense in regard t these matters, on which many mistakes are prevalent amon the general outside public and in England.

The following lines descriptive of the Maharajah of Jeypur' (among the Chiefs who were invited to the Coronation whic did not come off) arrival in London reads almost as if fron the pages of our lively contemporary *Punch* :—The Maharaja of Jeypur has arrived at Moray House, Campden-hill, fc the Coronation, with 600 pieces of luggage weighing sixt tons, and 132 servants in his trains. The transference of th Maharajah's baggage at Dover from mail packet to trai occupied nearly two hours. During the bustle a party c Indian cooks unconcernedly occupied themselves in preparin cakes over open charcoal fires. The greatest care was take in transporting the large jars of Ganges water for the use [illegible] the Maharajah and his suite, and three bearers carefully [illegible] solemnly carried a heavy casket containing the god, wi[illegible] which his Highness never travels. In the train a comp[illegible] was specially reserved for the god. The suite nu[illegible] priest and a master of jewellery, in whose care a[illegible] the Maharajah's jewels and precious stones to the value of £200,000. Upon alighting his retinue occupied an hour and a half in unloading and reloading the luggage. Each of the servants—some of them with swords on the hips—picked out of the thousand and one articles his own special charges, and a strange medley of pots and pans of beaten brass, padlocked boxes, cooking tripods, tins of tea half opened, rugs in rolls, musical intruments, lanterns with candles in them, and European umbrellas." It was thus that India made her appearance and entry. Her reception at the India Office is thus described:—"The Reception of Chiefs at the India Office surpassed in splendour anything seen this season.

The central Quadrangle was covered with a huge canvas painted by distinguished artists to represent a moonlit starry Indian sky, conforming to the Indian sky charts. The stars were made to twinkle by an ingenious arrangement of limelights. The Quadrangle was decorated on a scale of unparalleled magnificence as an Italian Palace, forming an effective setting for the imposing presence of the gorgeous uniforms and scintillating jewels of the Chiefs. The music was supplied by the Royal Artillery Band. The air was heavy with the perfume of flowers.

Three thousand guests were present, and the list included Earl Roberts, Lords Reay, Harris, Abercorn, Lansdowne, and Carrington, Sir William and Lady Harcourt, the Hon'ble Mr. Barton, Baron Alverstone, the Earl of Denbigh, Lord Northbrook, Mr. Wyndham, Lord Charles Beresford, Lord Aberdeen, and a crowd of other eminent personages.

The Prince of Wales entered the Royal box, where already were assembled the Princess Christiana, Princess Victoria of Holstein, Princess Louise, Princess Henry of Battenberg, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, the Foreign Princes and Princesses, and crossed the Quadrangle to the daïs under a splendid canopy amid strains of the National Anthem and the *Tannhouser* march.

The Chiefs passed in procession before His Royal Highness, each making profound obeisance. They were followed by native officers, each handing the Prince his sword in token of his fealty. The Prince touched the hilt and returned the sword."

From our own "Imperial" lines we may now turn to such petty and small sovereignties as Russia, Germany, the United States, etc. Russia is seething with internal troubles, which will result ither in a domestic revolution or a foreign war. Russia has large a population of Jews for her comfort. She should ge with the Sultan of Turkey to draft them off—by the n—overland, in the fashion of the march from Egypt, some thousands of years ago, to Syria and Palestine! The Sultan would doubtless be glad to get several millions of new subjects, whose racial "stiff-neckedness" and peculiarities he could always easily repress by a mere wink to his Koordish slaves, with other editions enacted of Armenian Massacres and Babylonish Laments. Of course, Mahomedans slaughtering Jews "like sheep" would not affect the highly-strung Christian conscience of England or Europe, especially of the German Emperor. (It is strange that Mark Twain did not take up the German Emperor's "Pilgrimage" for a new work on "The *Innocent* (?) Abroad.") Germany is arranging to receive Boers, who do not care to stay under England, into German South Africa. And in this connection it seems to us a miserably mean and low, as well as impolitic—as it is futile owing to Germany's action—policy to refuse Boer prisoners in India, who will not take the oath of allegiance to the new rule, permission to re-enter "South Africa." We do not own the whole of South Africa—Germany has an immense territory there—and so have the Portuguese. And surely even British South Africa is free t all other nationalities who do not own, and would not own, allegiance to England. The Boers, thus, as above, prevented from getting back to their old states, may naturalise as United States, or German, or Dutch citizens, and surely then enter. We are, by our mistaken and mean and revengeful policy only throwing the best and sturdiest element of the Boer population into Germany's hands, or creating future trouble for ourselves. But Germany has also been royally entertaining the very small Prince of Siam, and "thereby hangs another tale." There is an island called Lankawi, north of Penang, in the Bay of Bengal, and not very long ago German authorities were quietly seeking possession of it. It has fine harbours, and *belongs to Siam*. We don't see what can prevent, or how we can prevent, Siam from making it over to Germany, or for that matter, to Russia, or France, or Japan, unless, under an easy pretence, we annex the Siamese Malay States of the Peninsula, and along with them all such islands as lie off in the Bay of Bengal. It is possible, however, that then France would march up to the Burmese frontier and "incorporate" Siam. *Innocent* German William's policy in receiving the Crown Prince of Siam might have had an eye to eventualities, or to the Island of Lankawi with its fine harbours. Our note of warning, however, will not be heard by t Brummagem-Balfour Ministry just as in the similar cases South Africa and China. Imagine a Russian naval bas the mouth of the Red Sea (which the French have made a French base near Muscat, and a German base in t of Bengal. Koweit—with Turkey at present furi determined to have it—retires almost to the remote background with this formidable combination commanding India and the Indian Ocean. Lord Curzon may either open his eyes or "smell a rat"—whichever he likes, but the world must "move on"—there is no "*statu quo*."

France is still having trouble with her "religious orders and schools" Italy is supposed to be lost to British influence. The United States is still unsettled in the Philippines, and the *Bombay Gazette* suggests that Germany should buy the group up (just as we say to hand over Arabia to France!). This is what the *Bombay Gazette* says:—" Why should not Germany buy the Americans out, lock, stock and barrel? The Filipinos will not work. America will not permit them to import Chinese labour. The Filipino will deteriorate and die out if the Americans hold on. Germany has no qualms of conscience about the employment of Chinamen for the present. A German asks for very little higher rate of remuneration than a Chinaman. But doubtless, when the time comes that the German finds the Chinaman objectionable, he will discover effectual means of disposing of him. Under German Government, too, the Filipino will die out for the best wrought schemes for the moral and intellectual improvement of the Filipinos, whether of American or of German origin are bound to come to nothing. The States Government thinks it can educate the Filipino up to the standard of modern requirements among white races, though it has been impressed upon it that the brown man is not and can never become a white man, that he has certain qualities, certain virtues and certain claims on one's affection, but that he lacks the moral fibre the continuity of purpose, the self-control and the altruistic patriotism which are essential to a people who are ever to be trusted with autonomy." Some think the "white" man will "wipe out" the "brown" and the "black" man from the universe —and,—well, the prospect is very dubious, even with the "help" of Australia and Canada! And there is also the "yellow" man (with Japan included) for the "sweet by and bye."

With reference to the Japanese "Alliance,"—on which, of course, the Japanese are mightily congratulating themselves as well they may,—it would seem that Japan wanted *a loan*, and went begging all over Europe for it, offering her "alliance" to draw the money, which being declined (even by France!), Messrs. Chamberlain, Salisbury, Lansdowne & Co. at once jumped into it! Alas! for England with such councillors. One result, little anticipated by the above Home Firm, is the awakening of the people of India to "cotton to"—(Japan has already promised to take all her cotton from India)—Japan. The independent and dangerously warlike State of Nepal has already sent off a number of her young men to be educated in Japan; and other natives of India, too, are looking forward to *copying her*. Imagine Japanese born and bred ideas coming in to still further complicate Indian native-born ideas! We shall then really want Mr. Thorburn's Government newspapers. What a prospect for *Punch*, and for the reduction of the military armaments. Of other countries and matters, the Emperor of Morocco considers her "civilization" superior to that of Europe, and the "Mad" Mullah still continues to defy us! The United States still considers herself able to "lick creation," though she cannot "comb the hair" even of the Filipinos (and is shewing an example of immorality and corruption among them that puts into the shade the old Spanish times)—let her try to "lick" Turkey before trying her hand elsewhere—; and China is continuing to steady herself after her late troubles.

INDIA—POLITICAL.

In India the preparations for the Coronation Proclamation are proceeding apace, and everything promises to be commensurate with the grand historic event and its significance. The Viceroy, naturally, is taking the deepest interest in these preparations, and we trust no untoward event will happen to spoil it or set it aside. Since our last, Lord Curzon has issued another order regarding Memorials being promptly sent up by the Local Governments, and appointed a Commission to enquire into Police abuses and remedies. In regard to the former it will be remembered that last year we pointed out some injustice suffered by the Subordinate Preventive Officers in Calcutta. It seems now, from the following extract, that the matter, though memorialised about, was not remedied, nor sent up to the Viceroy. Hence probably Lord Curzon's action:—

"The Preventive Officers of the Customs Department submitted a Memorial on the 5th November of last year to the Collector, praying against the reduction by 25 per cent. of their overtime fees and such other of their grievances as block the flow of promotion, inadequacy of holidays, unfair distribution of holiday fees, counting of extra service for pension, and additional expenses imposed on them for the discharge of their ordinary duties such as boat hire, supply of uniform and even purchase of stationery. The memorialists asked the Collector to himself redress such of the grievances as were within his own competence, and as regards the others to forward their Memorial to the Government of India for their consideration. Although over seven months have elapsed no action has as yet been taken, nor even any reply vouchsafed."

The Collector evidently did not think the cries of an overworked service, whose small allowances had been further docked worth consideration. It is evident, however, that the Viceroy does; and moreover, that he has his eye on little matters as well as great. In the matter of the Police Commission, the following is the full text of the Resolution appointing it :—

> The Governor-General in Council has determined, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to appoint a Commission to inquire into the administration of the Police in British India.

Subjects for Enquiry :—

> The matters into which the Commission will enquire and report are—
>
> (1) Whether the organisation, training, strength, and pay of the different ranks of the District Police, both superior and subordinate, foot and mounted, whether on ordinary duty or in reserve, are adequate to secure the preservation of the public peace and a proper investigation and detection of crime, and if not, what changes are required in them respectively in each Province with regard to its local conditions in order to attain these objects.
>
> (2) Whether the existing arrangements secure that crime is fully reported or require to be supplemented in any way, and in particular, whether village officers and Rural Police in each Province are efficient aids to the District Police in the matter of reporting crime, and if not, how the relations between the former and the latter can (subject to the condition that the Rural Police in each Province must not be enrolled under the Police Act) be improved.
>
> (3) Whether the system of investigating offences now in force in each Province, the object being to provide for a full investigation of all serious crime, while avoiding interference by the Police in trivial matters, is capable of improvement, and if so, in what manner, and whether the institution of fully organized Criminal Investigation Departments is recommended.
>
> (4) Whether the form of statistical returns now adopted is satisfactory or capable of improvement, and whether the use to which such returns are now put as tests of Police working is appropriate or not.
>
> (5) Whether the general supervision exercised by the Magistracy over the Police and the control of superior officers (including Inspectors) over the investigation of crime are adequate to prevent oppression on the part of the subordinate Police, and, if not, how they can be made so.
>
> (6) Whether the existing organisation of the Railway Police, its operation as between Provinces and States, and its connection with the District Police are in a satisfactory condition, and, if not, what improvements can be effected.
>
> (7) Whether the career at present offered to natives in the Police in each Province is sufficiently attractive to induce a proper stamp of men to enter it, and, if not, what steps can be taken to remedy this evil consistently with a recognised measure of the necessity for European control in District charges.
>
> It is to be understood that while in some matters, as, for instance, those referred to under the heads (3), (4), and (6), it is important to secure uniformity throughout India, in others, and especially in those dealt with under the head (1), uniformity is neither desirable nor possible, and that what should be aimed at is not mechanical symmetry, but due proportion with regard to such considerations as the

criminality of the people, the number and gravity of the offences, to be dealt with, the density of the population of an area to be policed, and so forth.

The Composition of the Commission :—

The Commission will consist of the Hon'ble Mr. Fraser, I.C.S., C.S.I., Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, President ; the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Candy, I.C.S., Puisne Judge, Bombay High Court ; the Hon'ble the Maharajah of Durbhanga ; the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar, C.I.E., Ex-Dewan of Baroda and Inspector-General of Registration, Madras ; the Hon'ble Lieutenant Colonel Montgomery, Commissioner and Superintendent, Punjab ; Mr. W. M. Colvin, Barrister-at-Law, Allahabad ; and Mr. Hankin, C.I.E., Inspector-General of Police, Hyderabad State. The Secretary of the Commission will be Mr. H. A. Stuart, I.C.S., Inspector-General of Police, Madras Presidency.

Local members :—

During the visit of the Commission to each Province, where its inquiries will be conducted, a local Member will be appointed to the Commission by the Local Government or Administration to represent the views of the local authorities, and see that local circumstances and conditions are fully laid before the members of the Commission. The Local Commissioners will not be required to join in the preparation of the final Report.

Local Committees :—

To facilitate the enquiries of the Commission and to ensure that a definite and concise statement of the case as it presents itself to each Local Government and Administration be placed before the Commissioners, in anticipation of their inquiries, each Local Government and Administration should proceed without delay to appoint a Committee consisting of a District and Sessions Judge, a District Magistrate, and a District Superintendent of Police, in the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, and the United Provinces, and in the Punjab and elsewhere of a District Magistrate and District Superintendent of Police to proceed to such Districts as are considered most important from a Police point of view, and inquire into matters set out in the heads of the order of reference. The Bengal Government has recently made local inquiry into the organisation of the Police in that Province, and the Government of India will, therefore, not require a local Committee to be appointed in Bengal. The Government of India is not aware that any other Local Government or Administration has recently collected, by means of a similar inquiry, material necessary to prepare its case, for presentation to the Commission, but in any Province in which this has been done, a local Committee need not be appointed, unless a Local Government or Administration desires to follow this course.

The Work of the Local Committees :—

It is not intended that Committees conducting these preliminary enquiries should record any formal evidence or prepare a formal Report. They should discuss questions referred for the opinion of the Commission orally on the spot, taking particular care to ascertain the views of non-official natives of India on them. On the completion of their inquiries, they should present a statement of the case into which the Commission is to inquire for the consideration of the Local Government or Administration. This statement would describe the existing arrangements in each Province under each of the heads of reference, note the defects which have been brought to the notice of the Committee, and the remedies which have been proposed, and suggest officials and non-officials that would be most able to assist the Com-

> mission in the capacity of witnesses, and while avoiding discussions of either defects or remedies (beyond noticing the degree of the importance attached to each by public opinion generally) serve as a summary of the case for inquiry to be placed, together with views of the Local Government upon it, before the Commission for its information and assistance.

The Assembling of the Commission :—

> It is intended that the Commission shall assemble on the 15th October, and it is necessary that the Committees to undertake these preliminary inquiries should be appointed and set about their business without delay, since provincial statements of the case should reach the Government of India in time to be placed in the hands of the members of the Commission before they enter upon their labours. The general inquiry will be public, and its conduct and regulation of the course of business are entrusted to the President in communication with the members. The inquiries of the local Committees will place before the Commission valuable information as to witnesses, who may be expected to assist it in its work, but this arrangement is not intended to limit the Commission in the selection of any witnesses whom it may desire to examine. The Governor-General in Council leaves it to the President to determine the procedure to be adopted in obtaining and recording evidence. The Commission, through the Secretary, acting under instructions from the President, will correspond directly with Local Governments. The Governor-General in Council desires that all communications or requisitions for information emanating from the Commission may be treated as urgent and complied with promptly, and that in each Province which the Commis sioners visit they may be afforded every facility for prosecuting their enquiries.

The constitution of the Commission—its members—seems open to objection. Mr. Fraser may or may not make a good President—at all events his practical knowledge of the subject is *nil*, as is also that of several of the other members, such as the Durbhunga Maharajah who did not know what was going on among his own tenants till they broke out into riot, and Mr. Stuart of Madras, under whose very nose the high roads of Nellore have, as we noticed before, been unsafe for years even to European travellers ! Mr. Colvin of Allahabad, and the Ayengar, are strong men ; but much, if not everything, will depend on Mr. Fraser, and he, too, has given evidence of not knowing how things are carried on immediately under him. Instead of Durbhunga, we would have much preferred to have seen Rajah Peary Mohun Mookerji, C.S.I., the late President of the British Indian Association as the Rajah is not only known as a keen Bengali Brahmin, but as one who knows thoroughly the tenantry of his estates. His health, however, has not been good of late, and we do not know that he could have joined such a roving Commission had he been offered a place on it. If we are allowed also to say, no one better than Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea can be found for the local (Bengali) member. "Commissions," however, may come and go, but there is a method of management in the Police, set forth in the following extract, which, were it only largely followed, as it ought to be, would render impossible most of the graver public forms of crime :—

> "A reward of Rs. 500 had been offered for the arrest, alive or dead, of Cheep Avran, the notorious Moplah burglar, who escaped from Jail over a year ago and was popularly believed to be committing crime after crime in North Malabar, virtually with the connivance of certain Police subordinates. In addition to the offer of a reward, the Inspector-General of Police *issued an order that if Avran was not brought in, by the 1st proximo every Police Inspector in the District would be reduced by a grade.*
>
> Presumably, this order had a very good and rapid effect. Yesterday morning, the Police Inspector of Badagara, in pursuance of information privately received, proceeded to a village called Vellur, a few miles north of Badagara, accompanied by a Head Constable, some half a dozen Constables and a score or so of villagers. They surrounded a Moplah house wherein Avran was believed to be. Indeed, he was there, for the Head Constable who stepped in promptly stepped out again at sight of him and of the gleam of a naked sword which the hunted burglar flourished. There was a crowd in front of the door. Presently Avran dashed out, and laying about him with a sword and a big knife, he made a lane along which he escaped. He ran for over a mile, with the Police and the villagers in hot pursuit. They started stoning him and he took refuge in an empty Nair house. Some one then threw a heavy missile with great force, and Avran dropped his sword but picked it up again in a trice and slightly wounded the Head Constable who had meanwhile rushed in. The Inspector then stepped forward and shot him with a revolver, the bullet entering the abdomen on the left side and coming out near the hip on the right. The wounded man was then carried to Badagara, where he died this morning from tetanus The body was handed over to his co-religionists and was interred in a burial-ground attached to a local mosque. His death removes the most prominent member of the notorious Munchanda gang of Moplah criminals, who have hurried the District for a long series of years."

The following is only one of a recurring series of open robbery practised on the Nellore high roads (on one occasion a European Superintendent of Police was attacked !) which are unsafe even for Europeans unless properly armed and accompanied ! (—this in India on an important Railway Station a Collector's Head-quarters and within a hundred miles of Madras—what will Lord Ampthill say ?) :—

> "DACOITY ON THE NELLORE TRUNK ROAD.—On Monday, the 9th instant, a most daring dacoity was committed on Ericanjerry Road, at the Veyarsarpady Railway crossing. A native woman was trundling a cart of grass down the road about 9 o'clock that evening when she was attacked by several men who took her ear-rings from her, beat her, and after stripping her of her clothes chased her away. A short while after, two Mahomedan skin merchants were returning from Madaveram and were similarly attacked and beaten and robbed of their clothes. They raised an alarm, and the bullock which the assailants had loosened stampeded. A few minutes after, two other people happened to be travelling down the same road and were in turn attacked. The woman deeming discretion the better part of valour, divested herself of her jewels and handed them over to the men. Her husband was not so fortunate for he had his earrings torn from his ears."

Mr. Impey's report on the material reduction of Official Reports in the North-West Provinces shows the need there was of the Viceroy's order regarding these crops of rank growth which are choking India Mr. Impey shows that nearly a third may be safely left out or reduced. We should like Mr. Impey to go all over India.

Lord Curzon is about to proceed to Mysore, to instal the young Chief of Mysore, and after that, during the autumn, he makes a great tour through Rajputana, one of the most ancient, historic and interesting portions of India.

Mr. Fraser's appointment on the Police Commission has sent Mr. Hewett, the Home Secretary, to act in the Central Provinces, and speculation is already rife as to who will get Burmah and Bengal. Also other places, and for these prominent names are few: in Bengal only one, Mr. Buckland, who may get the Home Secretaryship, and not another anywhere else. The Central Provinces, too, as we have maintained, should be reduced in size, and its eastern portion along with Orissa and the Chota Nagpore States, formed into a separate high charge. It is dreadful that the richest portion of India should be so neglected.

There is little to report from any of the minor Governments except that both Sir John Woodburn and Sir James La Touche are touring about their respective charges in Bengal and North India, and Lord Ampthill very praiseworthily still visits various parts of his enormous stretch of dominion.

It is barely three months since we drew attention to Native Titles of Honour granted for a few thousands thrown away for them, and how they might and should be distinguished from hereditary territorial titles of ruling princes, and yet we have to note such leading journals as the *Indian Daily News* and the *Madras Mail* stumbling in confounding the two classes. The former journal, it is true, does not editorially perpetrate the blunder; but his "correspondents" who make a "Nawab of Dacca" might have been corrected. There is, as we have before shown, no "Nawab of Dacca" any more than Nawab Syed Amir Hosein is the "Nawab of Calcutta," or Mehdi Hussein, the "Nawab of Bombay." It is perfectly absurd and misleading. It even misleads, as also we showed before, these very "zemindars." For instance, while Sir John Woodburn, in his visit to Dacca—and no one better than Sir John Woodburn knows how in the North-West there are numerous Nawabs in every town and city—takes good care to speak of "Nawab Salimullah" (we are not sure that this *honorary* and *personal* title is hereditary) his—Salimullah's—"family," who own separately most of the property, in addressing His Honour refer to themselves as "the members of the *Dacca Nawab's* family"! As we have said, there is no "Dacca Nawab" or "Nawab of Dacca." The real old Viceregal title "Nawab of Dacca"—similar to the title of Nawab of Murshedabad—died out about sixty years ago, its last holder, as we know, in abject poverty. That the *Madras Mail* should go wrong in this matter with reference to Bengal will not be strange, but it might learn when it lately took up the *Pioneer* sharply for asserting that there was a certain "Rajah of Calicut." We may also note that the *Indian Daily News*, or rather its "Correspondents," confound together and make a mess over the very distinct titles of "Hon'ble" and "His Honour." Any "hon'ble" so-and-so is not addressed as or styled "His Honour." In India the Chief Commissioners ot Provinces get the "Hon'ble," but it is only a Lieutenant-Governor who may be styled "His Honour," which is a far higher and more dignified title. The *Indian Daily News*, however, would make "His Honour" of Mr. Fuller in Assam! As we are on Chief Commissioners, the *Indian Daily News*, and "Dacca Nawabs," we may quote here what the said paper writes of the late Commissioner, Mr. Cotton, of Assam :—

"We readily accept the litany of achievements he recited at Gauhati and willingly give him the credit he demands. But these successes are dwarfed by the magnitude of his two great failures—the failure to understand the European planter and the failure to assist the legitimate aspirations of the native Assamese of the Brahmaputra Valley. The one was sacrificed to a fantastic fetich : the other to a foreign favourite. And the result of it all has been the applause of the Bengalee."

And the reference made by Sir John Woodburn to certain internal rifts in the "family" lute represented by Nawab Salimullah :—

"What filled him with the highest gratification was that the Nawab's death was followed, not as he had dreaded with irreconcilable quarrels and litigation, but by peace and goodwill all round. To the credit of this the present Nawab was in half entitled, the other half of the praise belonged to themselves. He hoped that peace would be always with them." The public are not aware of the way the founder of the family, Ali Meeah, the father of Gunny Meeah, originally a cloth-seller from Kashmir, made his money, nor how in appointing Gunny Meeah, his heir, the real man according to report, was set aside. We may proceed to give the very interesting story—connected—early and choice events—some day. It was only owing to the Lieutenant-Governor of Gunny's period—some twenty years ago—going out of his legitimate high position to exercise pressure on the others, and that it would seem on the rightful claimants, that matters were patched up. It is to these that Sir John Woodburn refers, and it would seem that the matter is not yet dead—else why "the dread of irreconciliable quarrels and litigation"?—

indeed, where so many lakhs are concerned, and titles, such as they are, the matter cannot die. A Benares Banker may again appear on the scene.

Let us now conclude this section by recurring to the plan and subject of the Redemption of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. There are two quite distinct matters which have no reference to it, confounded with it. One is that it is an attack on the landed interests of Bengal—a robbery on a national scale. There can be no such thing when a full market value is given, only the management and direction will revert to Government. A mistake similar to it is that Bengalees will become landless. How can that be when the land will still be there, and Bengalees holding them, but only under Government? Another question imported into the matter, are the questions of assessments under Government and the superior beauty and advantages of the Permanent Sittlement. These, however, are extraneous to our subject of the Redemption of the Permanent Settlement by Government whereby, to the raising of the national character of the Bengalees, to the enrichment of the Zemindars, and to the great profit both immediate and after to the Government, justice would be done to India and Government itself. Romesh Dutt, the Durbhunga Rajah, and Rajah Peary Mohun Mookerji, have all confounded together these very things. Romesh Dutt, in replying to the Government's reply on the assessments, showed a long list of antiquated authorities who approved of the Permanent Settlement. That may have had a bearing on the question discussed, but has none on this one of ours; again, at the Annual Meeting of the British Indian Association, the Maharajah of Durbhunga elected President, with Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, Vice-President, the Maharajah of Durbhunga said that the Government of India, in its recent Land Revenue Resolution, had confounded the Permanent Settlement with the rules subsequently passed to give landlords facilities; and Rajah Peary Mohun entered a protest by saying:—

"Considering how vast and voluminous is the literature on the subject, it is not a matter for surprise, that His Excellency the Viceroy should have taken an opposite view and confounded that settlement with the regulations subsequently passed for the purposes of affording land-holders certain facilities for bearing the burden imposed upon them by that settlement, and led His Excellency to suppose that the Act of 1859 and subsequent measures were passed to remedy the evils caused by it. Those who are conversant with the history of rent legislation in Bengal know fully well that it was not to remedy any evils caused by the Permanent Settlement, but to rescind the harsh and summary provisions of Regulation V of 1812, to consolidate the law relating to the recovery of rent, and to transfer the trial of rent-suits from the Civil to the Revenue Courts that Act X of 1859 was passed. But in going to protect the ryots from the abuse of summary powers by land-holders, the legislature placed such difficulties in the way of recovery and settlement of rent that all subsequent legislation on the subject, not even excepting the Bengal Tenancy Act, was undertaken avowedly with the object of affording relief to the land-holders."

As regards the doing away with the Bengal Permanent Settlement—the question is how to do it equitably—the leading members of the European Press in the country are at one. Here is what the *Englishman* says :—

"It is singular that in his laborious apologies for the Permanent Settlement, Mr. Romesh Chundra Dutt should so carefully avoid all approach to Sir Auckland Colvin's well-known and masterly Memorandum published in the seventies, which is one of the recognised treatises on the subject and of which Mr. Dutt can hardly be ignorant. After quoting the Resolutions showing the strong set of the highest official opinion in the direction in which Mr. Dutt is still lingering the writer gives in detail the enquiries which completed the emancipation of the Government from the delusions which had previously prevailed. In many localities what might at first have been technically described as an unearned increment promised before long to realise proportions equal to, if not in excess of the original value of the land, a promise which has since been realised. It does not reveal a desire to deal exhaustively with the subject to ignore the whole body of evidence on which the Memorandum convinced the majority of responsible men of the folly of locking up productive lands in permanent assessments, and convicted the minority of reckless indifference to the true welfare of the country. Apart from objection to Permanent Settlement above dealt with, there is the equally fatal one that, so far as Bengal proper is concerned, the increasing value of land has not only not benefited the landlord, but it has also not benefited the tenants. Under the special arrangements for registering under tenures subinfeudation has spread like a disease through the Province, creating one class after another of drones on permanent under-tenures, pure annuitants on the land, as Sir George Campbell styled them, who make the country no return whatever for the sustenance which it affords them." The *Indian Daily News* on the 12th November last gives a severe side-blow to the same mistake of Lord Cornwallis. Even the *Madras Mail* in Southern India writes thus :—

"The United Kingdom has its Permanent Settlement in the shape of Pitt's Land Act, which was perhaps the source of

Lord Cornwallis's well-meant Regulation. In England a determination to limit the demand on the land was a comparatively easy matter. There the land tax yields about £750,000 out of a total taxation of over £121,000,000, of which property and income tax alone yields over thirty-three millions. If Great Britain were mainly an agricultural country, a permanently settled land tax would be an impossibility. As it is, the existence, the permanency of the land tax pass almost unnoticed. In India, however, the land tax occupies a very different place. Out of a total estimated income of Rs. 1,08,28,78,000 land revenue supplies no less than Rs. 27,25,59,000, and assessed taxes yield only Rs. 1,95,59,000. Hence observers and critics of British rule in India are apt to concentrate their attention—quite rightly, for that matter—on our land tax." And goes on to write (sarcastically) of the "right of Government to tax richer Provinces for the relief of those that are famine-stricken." Bengal alone, "thanks to Lord Cornwallis, cannot be called upon to take its due share in this poor-law business. She is fortunate, and may well bless Lord Cornwallis. But if all India were permanently settled, other taxes than that on land would have to be invented in order to raise funds to relieve the starving millions." And, we may add, for other Imperial and necessary purposes.

Let us add that Mr. Skrine who knows Bengal well writes thus of the old system and the new that succeeded it :—

> "Under native rule, the lands of Bengal were farmed out to hangers-on at the Viceregal court, who were styled zemindars, or landholders. The annual demand, under Akbar's vigorous sway, was ascertained by actual measurement, but when the central authority weakened, the quotum of State was roughly arrived at by biddings among the postulants for farms. These, in their turn, imitated their masters by making their leases hereditary in their families. But ownership, in the British sense of the word was incomprehensible to the native mind. The struggle was not for land but raiyats, literally "subjects," whose labour gave worth to that which was *per se* as valueless as air or water. When a zemindar fell into arrears he was brought to reason by a military force. The smaller fry, under Ali Vardi Khan, were coerced by imprisonment in a dungeon knee-deep in filth, which the last of the Mughal Viceroys humorously styled *Bihisht* (Paradise). Others were convinced of the error of their ways by being forced to don capacious trousers full of wild cats. The land revenue that gathered in, filtered through a succession of corrupt native officials, and that which reached the Exchequer was a mere fraction of the amount extorted from the unhappy raiyats. Nay, it varied directly with the seasons, and the East India Company's budget was constantly deranged by vast deficits in the collections. This uncertainty was not to be endured, and Lord Cornwallis went out to India with a mandate from the Court of Directors to fix the Government demand from lands in perpetuity. His own instinct as a territorial magnate led him to follow the policy thus inculcated with ardour. The first year of the French Revolution, 1789, saw the beginnings of one as momentous in the internal economy of Bengal. An assessment was made of the yield of each estate, not based as it should have been on a cadastral survey, but on the actual demand in previous years. Now apart from defects inseparable from the rough-and-ready methods which were alone available, Lord Cornwallis and his right-hand man, Sir John Shore, had to deal with ignorance in the over-tasked collectors, and

wholesale corruption in the zemindars and native subordinates. And, while the central districts were fairly well cultivated and, therefore, fully taxed, those to the north and east were still covered with jungle, and escaped with a pepper corn assessment. For good or for evil the estimates arrived at in 1789 were declared in 1793 to represent the permanent demand by way of la[illegible] revenue. The farmers became copyholders and the punctual payment of [illegible] quotum of the State was assured by a cast-iron sale-law, which provided tha[illegible] defaulters' estates should be put up to public auction in case the instalments of Government rent were not paid on due date The result was that most of the new-fangled proprietors were expropriated within ten years. With few exceptions the present race of zemindars are, or represent, "innocent holders for value," as our lawyers say; and they cannot be ousted without receiving compensation, which would cripple the Indian Exchequer. But the greatest injustice of the Permanent Settlement was the absence of any effectual mechanism for assuring to the tillers of the soil the same fixity of tenure which was conceded to the zemindars. Lord Cornwallis, indeed, gave platonic utterance to a hope that his *protéges* would devote themselves to improving their property. But the rights of the raiyats, which were far more ancient and more firmly established than those enjoyed by the farmers, were ignored; and more than ninety years were destined to elapse ere effectual attempts were made to enforce them. The Marquis's optimism was soon belied by events. A devise was introduced in the great estates of the Maharaja of Burdwan by which the zemindars alienated parcels of their property for ever, receiving a rental in excess of the Government demand. These miniature permanent settlements received the sanction of law, the zemindar sank to the status of annuitant on the land, and a hierarchy of middlemen was gradually insert[illegible] between the State and the unhappy cultivator. If a century has converte[illegible] wilderness into a garden, the agency at work has been the British peace. the advent of foreign capital, roads and railways, and the introduction of new staples. The zemindar's increment has been wholly unearned by him."—*Indian Daily News, 12th February 1902.*

We may add numerous other arguments besides that of the injustice to the rest of India in raising money from them for Imperial purposes and Bengal escaping, such as that zemindars now pay their rent in a rupee depreciated by half (if they paid 1,000 *sicca* rupees then and pay only 1,000 Government rupees now, they pay only half their true due); Bengal lands escaping the old "Military Cess"; not paying now the same *proportionate amount* as in Lord Cornwallis's time—the *proportion* being the essence and spirit of the settlement; the settlement not excluding all other just and due demands, such as for Police, abkari, etc., etc., besides the above Military Cess; all India then not being contemplated as forming one Empire; and, finally, the just and lawful increasing demands of the age and the State.

The old cry of "Resumption" would have been unjust and spelt ruin to innocent holders, but our plan of "Redemption" is unassailable. Mr. Skrine, in the quotation given above, says it cannot be done without "crippling" the Indian Exchequer. But it can be done, and positively benefit the Indian Exchequer by the most amazing overhauls. It can be done as a Government measure extending or spread over, say, fifteen years for the purchase-money, and the profit lies in the low rate of interest at which Government can borrow money. To take the example of the largest estate in Bengal, that of the

Burdwan Raj, which, say, in round numbers, pays half a million sterling annually to the revenue, and, say, makes about £150,000 over, (some estates make more and others less) that is, say, a third. It is evident the actual value of the estate is not reckoned on the half a million of revenue paid,—for that goes to Government,—but on the £150,000 over and above. Fifteen years' purchase on this amount makes the price payable £2,250,000. The payment of this, however, is spread over fifteen years, involving a payment of only £150,000 per annum. This amount can be borrowed by Government to pay off at, say, 4 per cent., so that Government would have actually to pay only £6,000 per annum *netting* £144,000 per annum which it would take over in the £150,000. Thus, the Government can pay the interest, and have over and above £144,000, out of the actual income from the estate, and this sum of £144,000 might be partially devoted to a Sinking Fund to wipe out the loan of £150,000, the remainder going to increase the revenues. Thus, in fifteen years, or, say, even in eighteen years, the State will have paid off its dues, the revenues having increased a third—which, here, means several millions sterling. There is nothing easier to be done, and a Bengali landlord who makes, say, six lakhs a year on his estate, will be glad to escape all future trouble and expense by becoming a millionaire with 100 lakhs!

We add again here a sub-section representing native opinion, though it is not our purpose to make this a permanent feature in our review of the Quarter:—

The Berar question (*Rost Goftar*):—

> "The Government of India has not done any wrong in for ever taking up the Government of the Berars: the Province has made great progress in education and civilization and material prosperity under the British management; the people of the province have become very happy since they were weaned away from their natural parent; it will be cruel to hand over these happy and contented people to the Nizam's Government which has hitherto been characterized by anarchy and misrule."

The rule of the sword (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*):—

> "Animals such as dogs, cats, wolves and others fight. So long men continue to fight they will give evidence of their brutal nature. If a man gives a push to another he is punished,—that is the law. Violence is prohibited by law. What a great wrong, therefore, is for a number of men to fire upon fellow-beings who have done them no harm. A volley is fired and one dozen men fall dead and another dozen get wounded. The wounded cry for water, but they are trampled under foot. The dead leave orphans and widows behind. Does any man pretend to say that those who fire volleys will not be held responsible for their acts? If there is a God and if what the Prophets say be true a subject race who do not fight are worthier by far than the race who rule by the sword."

The expense on pomp and pageantry (*Native States*):—

> "Now that the said postponement of the coronation has put the Empire to dreadful loss, it behoves Lord Curzon to curtail, as far as possible, the good-for-nothing pomp and pageantry of the Delhi Durbar. The sober Englishman must be the last to outdo the oriental in splendour, but what a strange

passion has seized Lord Curzon? To take the Delhi Durbar, for instance, the scale on which the Viceroy has planned it is not simply ultra-magnificent, but in the present state of the country most ill-becoming in the extreme. He needs must excel the fabled magnificence of the Arabian nights and the Eastern epics; and that, too, when famine and plague have been decimating the population. Whatever may be the strength of Great Britain and her prosperous colonies to stand the delirium of Imperialism, poor India can only succumb under it. We shall take a few Native States and show how it is a sin to put them to any extra expenditure just now. The Maharajah of Jaipur has been the spoiled child of Munificence and the dreadful loss of some thirty-five lakhs wasted during the course of a fortnight, is a lesson that cannot be wasted either on the Maharajah or on the Government of India. The Maharajah Scindia seems to have given himself in adoption to "glory and England," and we wonder whether he realises where exactly his state is financially. Berars must bear evidence enough as to the capacity of Hyderabad to contribute to the Delhi splendour. Baroda which has suffered enough from famine is fortunately under a Ruler who will not overstep the bounds of necessity. Mysore has too many irons in the fire, while Cochin must make a strenuous effort to turn away from every pie of additional expenditure. This attempt to make India inebriated with the strong drink of Imperialism is as becoming as forcing a good old cripple to climb up a precipitous hill."

And again:—

"Lord Curzon evidently wants to outdo everything that has been heard of in oriental splendour and has requisitioned forty elephants for the Delhi procession.* It is time that we put an outspoken question what is this fatality that has seized Englishmen at home and in India? When an Eastern Prince gives himself up to splendour, he equally gives himself up to oriental generosity. If he rides on a gorgeous white elephant seated on the golden *howdah* he also scatters *mohurs* and coins as he rides; and if he holds a Durbar of surpassing magnificence, he gives splendid jaghirs and *Inams* and remits taxation. In short, he is a thorough going oriental, combining oriental magnificence with oriental magnanimity; but if the red-tape-bound bureaucratic Government of India should be seized with a passion for oriental magnificence can it end in anything else except aggravated misery for this famine-ridden country?

Draining India (*Lucknow Advocate*):—

"By way of make-up of a column we read in an unimportant page of the *Pioneer* that the order for the firework display for the Delhi Durbar has been placed with Messrs. C. T. Brock & Co., of Crystal Palace, London. If a careful inquiry be made, it may be found that orders for almost all materials needed for the Durbar have been placed with English firms either of England or of India. From the Victoria Memorial to the Coronation Durbar, foreign labour, foreign design and foreign materials are to be used and not Indian articles, much less Indian genius. Serve British or Eurasian † interests. This seems to be the motto of Lord Curzon's administration."

A Court for Native Princes (*Native States*):—

"If it is necessary that Indian Princes should be tried, it follows, that the constitution of the tribunal must be such as would ensure justice from every point of view, and that is all the need we suppose. The writer further goes to remark that this principle reiterated by the Indian Press was recognised in the Baroda trial; yes, quite so; and the fear of the Indian Press is that since in the Baroda trial the Government of India had to act against the unanimous view of the three Indian Princes, the Government of India in all the subsequent trials have taken care not to lay themselves open to so awkward a charge, and have cut the gordian knot by not appointing a Native

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* *We* would have *one hundred and forty* elephants.—Ed., *C. R.*

† Where does the "Eurasian" come in here?—Ed., *C. R.*

Prince on the Commission.* Bharatpur, Panna, Jhallawâr, Manipur and Cashmere all bear witness to this change of policy. How else is this to be accounted for?"

The Art of Lying (*New India*):—

"The art of plain, honest, blunt truth-speaking which characterised the earlier and sturdier stages of human society, seems to have become an altogether lost art in modern civilisation. Few people, outside Bedlam, seem to cultivate, or care for, this lost art to-day. In religion, we pay homage to false gods, whom our reason believes not, our heart loves not, and our conscience cares not to obey. In society we bend our knees low to men and institutions that in our heart of hearts we hate and abhor. In civic life, whether from dread or from design, we are always proclaiming things that we know are not and cannot be true. Even our lies are not honest lies. We do not simply tell a lie, and then turn from it away in shame, as from a bastard product of a temporary temptation, but we clothe it with fine plausibilities, adorn it with high-flown sentiments, proclaim it to the world with all the might of our tongues, and hypnotise ourselves into the belief that our lies are the very soul of truth itself; and having thus reduced lying to a fine art, we call it high-class politics, we call it lofty patriotism, we call it loyalty to Order and Authority, we pronounce it to be the highest wisdom, and count it among the crafts of a most superior civilisation!"

Indian Princes (*New India*):—

"We wonder if Lord Reay remembered the very common-place fact that the Indian princes are composed of human flesh and blood and have the ordinary sentiency of human beings, when he declared, before the distinguished company that gathered around the festive board of the Royal Asiatic Society, last month,—that "the position of an Indian ruler is in many respects most enviable." His Lordship means always well, we believe, by both the princes and the people of India, but what he exactly meant by this particular declaration, we find it very difficult to divine. All that he said, by way of explanation, is that (1) by good Government the Indian Prince can always secure a surplus and freedom from debt; (2) trade is free; (3) he can give liberal encouragement to arts and manufactures; (4) his principal care is the same as that of the British Government:—it is wise legislation for the tiller of the soil; (5) he is fortunately removed from the great competition in armaments;—and we regret to have to say that we do not find in this catalogue of special advantages any, except No. 5, which is not open to royalties all the world over, and which make the position of the Indian ruler, a special object of envy. These are, besides, all in the subjunctive mood, and the large "If" is the British Political. When descanting on the position of the Indian ruler, did Lord Reay forget that (1) he can take absolutely no initiative, without running the fatal risk of a difference with the Suzerain Power, unless it is sanctioned by the Political; (2) he cannot regulate the trade of his dominions and make it less "free" than what the economic interests of his subjects may need; (3) he can not claim, as of right, to be judged by his peers when accused of any serious crime; (4) he is constantly kept under a most annoying surveilance, such as is maintained in other civilised countries only over the criminal classes; (5) he is not entitled to that ordinary freedom of movement which even the meanest of his own subject enjoys; (6) in many cases, his life is filled with an endless succession of petty pin-pricks from the British Political; and (7) if he does not frequently seek refuge from these in violent and self inflicted death, as did the Maharajah of Patna, some years ago, it is simply because through long history and heredity he has been trained by the high spiritual ideals of his race, to take all earthly ills with stoic calmness, and to submit to whatever pain or trouble may befall him, as the dispensations of God and the fruits of his own KARMA. And in this long and true catalogue of the life, history of more than eighty per cent. of the Indian rulers, what is there, we wonder, to excite the envy of a British Peer, unless it be the oriental ease and listlessness of their lives or the worked-up splendour of their princely pageants. But we ought not, perhaps, to scrutinise so critically, the post-prandial utterances of a festive board."

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* This may not be a true view.—ED., *C. R.*

The Village Communes (*Pioneer*) :—

"The people ask for cheap and ready justice. They ask for less interference in their internal affairs and the maintenance of old customs. The people of India are in their villages as from time immemorial. The shouting in the bazaars, eloquent speeches in Congress pandals, the Resolutions of retired officials—none of these reach the men who follow the plough tail. Let justice be brought to their doors, avoid unnecessary interference, watch the crops, and prove the Sirkar is their guardian, as well as dispenser of justice and tax-collector. The first step is to deal with them in the village and as the village, and to rebuild the shattered village communities. If the foundations be sound, any superstructure of District Boards and Legislative Councils is possible." *

India Disaffected (*Mr. J. M. Maclean*) :—

"Observers who look below the surface are well aware that India was never more profoundly disaffected to British rule than she is at the present moment, that she was never governed with less regard for the wishes and interests of the subject-races, and that it is only the hopelessness of resistance which prevents the outbreak of formidable popular insurrections. The old good feeling between conqueror and conquered, which thirty years ago seemed to be of constant and rapid growth, has now quite died out, and the gulf between European and Native is more firmly fixed than ever." †

Finally, we have the following humble petition of the members of the Bombay Presidency Association and other citizens of Bombay, to the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom in Parliament assembled :—

Respectfully sheweth that your petitioners humbly crave leave to bring to the notice of your Honourable House the heavy financial burden which has been entailed on India in consequence of the changes introduced into the British Army system from time to time.

2. That the said financial burden is caused by the Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1859 which was unfortunately carried out in direct opposition to the advice of the most experienced statesmen, as may be readily learned from the evidence recorded by the Select Committee of your Honourable House which sat, from 1871 to 1874, to investigate into the whole domain of Indian finance.

3. That the scheme is in the nature of a partnership, but of so onesided a character that India has to submit to all the pecuniary obligation, which changes in the British Army system frequently involve without being allowed to have a voice in the determination thereof.

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* The *Pioneer* echoes here what we set forth long ago, and what has been repeated in the Native Press.—ED., *C. R.*

† All our previous extracts go to prove the truth of Mr. Maclean's words, which is the reason why we include them here. Few people know India better.—ED., *C. R.*

4. That India is thus bound hand and foot, while the charges it is from time to time called upon to bear in consequence of the said alterations are beyond its ability as pointed out in more than one public despatch by the Government of India. The alterations are generally made without any regard to the important fact that what may be perfectly suited to a country so wealthy as England may be altogether unsuited to a country so admittedly poor as India. Moreover, as the Government of India have repeatedly pointed out, India has had on several occasions to pay for many changes in the said Army Scheme introduced out of Imperial consideration in which Indian interests have not been consulted or advanced.

5. That since 1860 large sums have been paid to the British Exchequer for a variety of military purposes the financial justice of which has been more than once questioned by the Government of India. That more than one Committee of your Honourable House has sat during the same interval, as the records of your Honourable House bear ample evidence, to inquire into the equity of certain surcharges about which the Indian Government complained, and only very recently the Royal Commission on Indian expenditure, after having exhaustively inquired into the grievances urged by the Government of India, recommended a reduction of £230 000 in the payment annualy made by the Government to the British Exchequer on account of the British troops on the Indian establishment.

6. That your petitioners have noticed with great regret and alarm the recent proposal to increase the pay of the British soldier. This increase will entail on the revenues of India a further charge of about £786,000 per annum which it can ill afford to bear. Though the relief in the annual payment to the British Exchequer recommended by Lord Welby's Commission was considerably less than what was due to India the Indian people have thankfully accepted the small reduction made in accordance with that recommendation. But it is clear from the action now taken by your Honourable House that that exceedingly small relief will be more than neutralised by the fresh permanent burden of £786,000 per annum which will now be imposed. Your petitioners respectfully beg to invite the attention of your Honourable House to the important fact that changes which do not cause any very serious addition to the English estimates, and which are carried out without the least reference to India, entail, as declared by the Government of India, a very heavy burden on the Indian revenues by reason of exchange and other causes.

7. That the injustice of this burden becomes more marked when it is remembered that the Indian tax-payer pays England the annual charges for the training of men sent to India, while, on the other hand, England does not pay one pie for training the men who pass from India to the reserve just as they are becoming thoroughly efficient soldiers. Nor does England pay for the training of officers and men she lends either temporarily or permanently. Your petitioners further beg to point out that the British Government, as has been admitted by the Royal Commission on Indian expenditure, has derived, and does derive, great benefit from the existence of a large effective force in India. India provides a reserve force in the East which, with a loyal and peaceful people like the Indians, can promptly and effectively aid British policy in other parts of the world. Your petitioners have only to point to the prompt, effective and opportune aid rendered by India in a time of sore trial in connection with the late war in South Africa.

8. That your petitioners lastly beg to point out to your Honourable House in this connexion the appalling growth of Indian military expenditure which has risen from sixteen crores in 1885 to twenty-seven crores this year. A material portion of this increase is due to the Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1859 which has proved so extremely costly and injurious to the revenues of India As a matter of fact the present Indian military expenditure absorbs the total land revenue of India collected from millions of peasants noted for their hopeless indebtedness and chronic indigence.

9 That your petitioners humbly pray, therefore, that the additional burden of £786,000 which will fall on India in consequence of the increase in the pay of the British soldier be not thrown on this country and that

the distribution of military expenditure between England and India may be based on just and equitable principles. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray. Dated at Bombay this Fifth Day of July 1902.*

NATIVE STATES, PRINCES, &c.

We don't know that we should include Nepal in our view here, though it cannot well be left out. As usual, the real and true sovereign of the country will not be visible at the Delhi Coronation Durbar, but he will send his Prime Minister there. We may add, that the Nepal Government has sent eight young men of respectable families to the Imperial University College and Technical School at Tokio in Japan to study the several branches of practical art, such as match-making, metal-engraving, mining and silk-rearing. The State will undertake the whole of the expenses necessary for training these young Nepalese. "We have heard much of the demerits of native rule in India, says the *Bengali*, but if India had been under native rule, even a comparatively poor State, like that of Nepal, would not have allowed itself to be left behind in this march of economic progress which is led by Japan and followed by many a backward eastern country This is very sarcastic, but is not India herself to blame? Wit[illegible] millions buried, she leaves the development of the country to foreigners;—with the grossest and most crying social abuses she rests content;—with real power, she makes no true and united effort;—and with the pure and beneficent Light of the Gospel of Christ she—under a false conception of "patriotism"—dreams a thousand dark metaphysical dreams of *Hinduism*.

Coming down south in due order, we have the Nawab of Bahawulpore, an account of whose State we furnished in our last, worthy of being incorporated into Aitchison's *Treaties*. As we stated in our last, he had such evil preliminary experience of the sea, that he declined to go to England, and returned to his State. The *Bombay Gazette*, while quoting us and making merry over the incident, pays a well-deserved compliment to the representative of Government with the Nawab, by saying that the Nawab "has the benefit of the advice and assistance of perhaps the most accomplished Mentor in the service, to wit, Colonel Grey, C.S.I." The Punjab ought to be very sorry ever to lose this "accomplished Mentor." The Nawab, since his return, has made the discovery that his State is four-fifths Mahomedan, while only a fifth of them are employed by the State. If the Nawab will employ us as Director of Public Engines and Forces, embracing in them all and sundry moral, social, etc., etc., on Rs 5,000 per mensem, payable always *in advance*, we shall see that no Mahomedan is over-ridden by a Hindu in his just and legitimate aspiration for State employment. We should even establish a College of *Moulvies* for discussions on religion, in which we, by virtue of our office, would sit as "Neutral" President, and keep "the peace" between contending and contentious parties, whether Sunni or Sheeah or Kadiani, or Hindu or Jain, or Buddhist, or Sikh, or Christian, and prevent them from falling on each other's beards or eyes. We would also have a Mahomedan edition of *Punch* circulated *gratis*. With reference to our observations on the misuse of titles in India, the *Indian Daily News* quotes the following *para.*:—

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* We don't know that this "Petition" will have any effect. These Parsi, Bengali, and other numerous associations and public bodies are too scattered and separated one from another. Were all of them drawn into line, and marshalled together, on momentous questions of public interest—which might be done by a common understanding, there is no doubt that their voice would be heard. These isolated efforts have little force or effect.—ED., *C. R.*

"In a Public Works Department Notification in the current *Punjab Gazette, we (Civil and Military Gazette)* read of the services of an officer being placed at the disposal of the *Maharajah* (sic!) of Kapurthala. It is true that the followers and friends of this Prince are notoriously eager to use this title on every possible occasion of public reference to him, but for all that we are not aware that His Highness is entitled to any higher style than "Rajah." We have already pointed out how the *Indian Daily News* itself allows its Correspondents to err in an even less excusable way in regard to the scores of "Nawabs" in Bengal. (As for "Rajahs" and "Maharajahs" in Bengal, it is our opinion that not one in ten thus titled have any right—a Bengali in the Mofussil calls any "Baboo" a "Rajah Saheb.") In the above *para.*, however, it is seen how, as we once stated, Government itself errs and leads the way. Lord Curzon should come down like a sledge hammer here and put down every *parve un* unauthorised person, and other, in his proper place.

During the absence of the Gwalior Chief in England, his Maharani went up to Simla and stayed a few days there as Lady Curzon's guest.

The lately deposed Punna Chief has been ordered to Madras and is to receive an allowance of Rs. 1,200 per mensem. The area of Punna is about 2,500 square miles, and the population about a quarter of a million; the revenue being about 4½ lakhs. The territory is noted for diamonds which are to be found imbedded in the rocks from fifteen to twenty feet deep. Although stones to a high value are still to be found, the return does not equal the outlay in every place and this uncertainty [illegible] stood in the way of any extensive mining operation being it may be of all the Bundelcund Chiefs—for they are all—some thirty of them—in partnership in the Diamond Mines—upon the finders of stones of even a moderate value! And the the *Bengali* runs into sarcasm! Besides the above cause, we found that among the thirty odd "royal" shareholders were some very ancient dames who were extreme Hindoos, and would not hear of "concessions" to an outside European Syndicate! We know, for instance, where there is in Punna an enormous large Diamond that probably beats the *Koh-i-Nur* as it was originally—more than double its present size—but we dare do nothing! The Punna White Diamond bears the highest value in the world's market, the Borneo White Diamond coming next to it. We examined the Punna country thoroughly and know all its ground, etc. Punna seems also to be connected with the origin of the Lady Dufferin Fund. The story is that the Maharani of Punna having been cured of a painful complaint by a missionary-lady doctor, Her Highness requested the Queen-Empress to graciously provide some system whereby the efficient medical aid of the West may be available to the women of India. And the result was the beneficent institution in the chief centres of India under the name of "The Victoria Gosha Women Hospital." The State Capital is full of very large grand Hindu Temples and magnificent lakes and palaces, all built and constructed from the proceeds of the territory's diamonds. It was even reported to us that there is a Diamond as large as a Swan's Egg (!) in a certain spot that was shown to us and the reason told us why it is there, all which bore the semblance of truth.

In regard to the deposition of the Punna Chief the *Native States*, a paper lately started (about which see more further on) "improves" the incident thus :—

> "That lamentable incident, the deposition of the Maharajah of Punna, brings once again to prominence the difficult and delicate question of the trial of an Indian Prince when accused of crimes and misdemeanours. Although a matter of peculiar difficulty and of grave importance, all that the Government of India has been able to achieve in the solution of the problem has been a reputation to rely on rough and ready methods of procedure and emerges out of the situation with abundant adverse criticism and little approbation. Indeed, in some matters the Government of India seems to have a *naive* capacity to blunder into what is awkward and impolitic. But it seems to us in all candour that it has blundered enough and more than enough and that it is time for it to cease blundering from policy or the want of it. Once before, the India Government chose to act on the one-sided representations of a biassed political with no form of trial or inquiry. On another occasion a Royal Commission, which included three Indian Princes, sat, but the Government cho
> to act against the *unanimous* view of the three Indian Princes and in co
> formity to the recommendation of the European members of the commiss
> Now on this occasion, the commission is uncontaminated by the perse
> a native. We wonder whether it is necessary for us to point out the im
> which such a consistent course of conduct is apt to leave on the pr

> peoples of the country. The question in all these cases is not whether the Government of India is substantially correct in its decision, but whether it has done the right thing in the right manner?—a question that has but one answer and that a profoundly unsatisfactory one. And in the present instance the answer is all the more unsatisfactory. Only two members composed the commission, and they were both Europeans. Not only was there no native member on the commission, but the fundamental principle of all fair trials that a man must be tried by his peers was quietly ignored. And the trial was conducted *in camera*, deprived of the inestimable safeguards of judicial publicity. And on the strength of a trial thus conducted has the Maharajah been by a Viceregal resolution deposed. And again what wonder that the whole procedure has come in for scathing condemnation? Perhaps it may be thought that we are making a sentimental grievance of the absence of Native Princes on the commission. If so, the Government of Lord Curzon must be the very last to make light of sentiments. But far from being merely sentimental, the objection involves a most substantial point of justice. Who, like a Maharajah, can know the ins and outs of palace politics, palace intrigues, and of palace possibilities? Who, like him, can see through a cloud of circumstantial evidence and a phalanx of ordered facts and allegations? And through that world of chance and contrivance and manipulations of which a prince more than an ordinary mortal is so often a victim and to which even alert British Officers may fall a prey? It is not, therefore, as a matter of idle privilege, that we insist that a commission trying a prince must include a prince; but we insist upon it on the ground of bare justices. To ignore this all important consideration in constituting a commission is to evolve a tribunal fundamentally defective in its make; and hence its verdict must fail to command that confidence and esteem which, it is absolutey essential for the fair name of British Rule, it must command."

ext to Bhopal, where its late Administrator, l Jubber of Calcutta, having been dismissed, the taken the reins of Government into her own fair A large amount of buried treasure, too, has lately been nd at Rajgurh in the Bhopal Agency. The Chief died a few months back, and Mr. Lang, the Political Agent, went to settle the deceased's affairs. He was told by one of the palace nobles that the Chief had left a message for him to the effect that a large amount of treasure was stored in a vault in the palace, and that it had been there since the days of the mutiny. Mr. Lang examined the vault, and found the treasure chiefly in bar gold, and in the current Bhopal Rupees, of a total value estimated at seventeen and-a-half lakhs.

[While on buried treasures there is an authentic report of buried (State) treasure of the amount of several *crores*—in gold bars, the *locale* of which we have carefully examined on several occasions, and for which, some years ago, we had obtained the consent of the Government of the N.-W.-P. to investigate, but which came to nothing owing to the greed of the Hindu owner of a portion of the land.]

The Baroda Chief's health has necessitated his being sent to the Nilgiris for this hot season. On his way, he paid a visit to Bangalore, when he inspected several of the institutions of the place. His Maharani has joined him, and they have both made themselves very popular by their parties, etc. His Highness has consented to preside over, and open the Industrial Exhibition, in connection with the Indian National Congress, to be held in December next at Ahmedabad.

The Installation of the Mysore Chief takes place on the 8th August, and His Excellency the Viceroy has very graciously consented to be the Installing Officer. The new administration scheme for the country provides for the Maharajah at the head of affairs, assisted by the Dewan and two Councillors. The business will practically be divided into "scheduled" and "non-scheduled." The first will comprise all important business which will be dealt with and disposed of by the Maharajah personally after considering any observations that have been made by the Dewan and Councillors thereon. The non-scheduled business will be disposed of by the Dewan as the Executive head of the Government, after having passed through the particular Councillor to whose Department it belongs. The Councillors will take under the new scheme a fairly direct part in the administration, ea[illegible] being allotted a portfolio and being entrusted with a certa[illegible] amount of supervision over the affairs of the Departments which they control. In the event of an *impasse* arising, as in the case of friction between the Dewan and Councillors, a reference will be made to the Maharajah, whose opinion will be final.

The old Maharani of Vizianagram has breathed her last. The Manager of the Court of Wards of an estate in the South—whether belonging to ruling prince or not we cannot say—is advertising for a loan of 88 *lakhs* on a portion. We do not know the ins and outs of this case, but observe that there must have been some awful mismanagement in the past; and the amount seems to be one that even a large ruling prince's territory could hardly bear. In regard to the expenses of Native States, the paper we have quoted before says :—

> By the end of 1903, we fear, most of the Native States will have to be face to face before a financial blank, if not a financial break up. The calls that have been made in quick succession on their meagre resources from 1901 have been calls that drain the treasury without benefiting the State, and three such consecutive years must certainly prove too much even for the most prosperous of them. The plague and the famine had their own share of the States' resources, while Lord Curzon's permanent Famine Fund led to another draft on several of the State treasuries. The South African War and the China Expedition must certainly have happened in vain if they could not afford occasion for a costly demonstration of loyalty, to several of them. The Viceregal visits did not come and go "on the light fantastic toe" but left decent indentations. And as an offspring of the military ardour of the times the transport corps came into existence to sit tightly on the overburdened finances. The Calcutta Memorial was another windfall into these overflowing treasuries, and now, to crown all, comes the forthcoming

Coronation and the Super-added Delhi Assemblage. We wonder wherein lurks the last straw that will break the camel's back.

The following is an account furnished by some one to the press in regard to Europeans and their treatment in Native States. We ourselves have had a most considerable experience of Native States, and while the picture is not overdrawn, it is not always so bad. On the contrary, we know of some Chiefs who have been—kindness personified—sending us food (by Brahmins) cooked in their own kitchens and delicacies reserved for Lieutenant-Governors and Viceroys; while in other cases, a *European* Manager (of a Native State) has deprived us of just dues by taking a mean and disgraceful advantage of the "Limitation Act" (all the while they were spending thousands!). At the same time we must say, that everywhere previous to entering into a State, the Government representative or resident has warned us *not to go in* (which reminds us of the Policemen stationed at the head of the several lanes into *White Chapel as it was thirty years ago* warning us not to go inside the area when, as a "casual" we were exploring the lowest stratum of life in London). Here is the damaging account, on which we would like to have any (further) sarcastic comments, of the *Bengali*:—

"The Raja has, we will say for our illustration, scented money in—. As none of his own native subjects has either the knowledge or the rectitude to manage such a business, he promptly advertises for an expert European offering a seemingly liberal salary, with various additional inducements in the shape of promotion, pension, permanency, etc. This secures him a first class man, who has perhaps in his ignorance thrown up some safer appointment owing to the tempting bait now offered him The Raja after this informs the Local Government of the choice he has made, and is obliged to obtain official permission before he can employ the man in his service; while the Government on its part is supposed to institute enquiries as to the man's character and antecedents, and then convey its approval to the Raja. Such an apparently searching and careful procedure has led the European into believing that he is now under the protecting ægis of his own Government, and that as long as he does his duty, his future career is safe in the Native State But in the interests of the European community it is necessary to at once disabuse its members of this cruelly false impression. Government action in this matter is a purely selfish one, simply for the purpose of excluding foreign political adventurers, and there is no intention whatsoever of protecting the Englishman, however patriotic and honourable from internal intrigues or the bad faith of the Raja. The official tendency in this matter is in fact the other way, as the Raja can practically do what he likes with his enslaved Europeans without any fear of Government intervention; and what is more, Government reserves to itself the extraordinary power of ordering a Raja to turn out a European from the State, without giving any official reason for the act. I have actually been shown such arbitrary orders sending adrift many an able and innocent man.

But to return to our muttons. From the day the European is engaged his disillusionment and difficulties commence. If he determines to live a pure and straightforward life, do his plain duty, improve the administration, and put down waste and corruption, then he is bound to make a host f enemies among those who have previously fattened on mismanagement d unscrupulous loot. Intrigues are promptly started; and plots hatched inst him. He will be subjected to endless worry and underhand pressure

> with the object of forcing him to resign; and slow poison that will injure his health, with threats of assassination, are not uncommon on such occasions. As Rajas are proverbially not conspicuous for their strength of character, in nine cases out of ten the European will sooner or later go to the wall. If he does not fulfil the expectations of his enemies by incontinently throwing up his work and leaving the next step towards his destruction will be to concoct half-a-dozen false criminal and civil charges; and then an order is passed by the enlightened ruler for his immediate dismissal. with the threat that if he does not quietly depart at once he will be prosecuted under several sections of the Indian Penal Code. There is no redress, and he will be a lucky man if he leaves the State with only the loss of his appointment, his money and his health; as a rule he will awake to the fact that very unpleasant rumours have deliberately been set afloat about his incompetence, corruption, and generally evil life! Should he stand on his dignity and rights, and have the courage to report matters to the Local or Supreme Government, and ask for a full and unprejudiced inquiry, he will find to his astonishment a dead blank wall of official opposition all round him. The Raja will immediately fabricate a garbled version of the whole affair for official edification, even quoting Government regulations and resolutions to support his woeful tale; while Government on its part will repudiate all responsibility and proceed to hush up the scandal with all possible haste. In plain words, there is no kind of redress or satisfaction to be hoped for. either from the Raja or our own Government. While the Raja can prosecute and persecute with impunity a British subject with or without British laws, the European cannot touch the Raja with any law at all. The European who is thus broke by a native princeling must submit to loss and humiliation. and try begin life all over again in some other distant part of the country,—as the very Lieutenant-Governor who originally approved of his appointment will now not only decline to aid him in any way, but will also prohibit his entering the service of any other Native State in his province. This is not all, the neighbouring provincial Governors will likewise follow suit in hounding the unlucky individual; while the supreme Government will altogether decline to intervene on the pretext that it is purely a matter for the Local Government to deal with! So the ball of circumlocution is kept rolling, and all responsibility is shifted from shoulder to shoulder till it vanishes into thin air. Nothing can be got out of the Raja in his own State, as he is a law unto himself; and equally futile is it to try and prosecute the Raja in our law courts, as before this can be done it is first necessary to secure the permission of the Local Government. Unless it is a very glaring case which has found its way into the public press, no such permission will be granted, but instead an order will probably be despatched to the Political Agent of the State to hush up the matter at all costs. Such an official boycott, it can well be imagined, is tantamount to complete ruin; and if the unfortunate man does not succeed in getting private employment, he is eventually forced to leave the country altogether."

We omit an account of some injustice, as alleged, suffered by a Maharani Dowager. We know of others such (mark, *Bengali !*) and some perpetrated by high European "Residents." We have no time ourselves to examine these matters at present.

AGRICULTURE, TRADE, &c.

Our remarks in our last, that there is no real loss on the qualities of tea grown and thrown on the market, and blended and perfumed; (and that the public who had take "rubbish" were the sufferers, may be seen to be confirm by the Tea Companies themselves. One of the largest these the Lebong Co., at the last (the Fortieth) Annual Me spoke thus through its Chairman:—"I fear so much bl is not to vantage. If Darjeeling teas could, by any means nore before the consumer in a pure unmixed n unspeakable gain to both sides. But the h we are suffering is overproduction. There The Official Report on Tea Culture in Assam for 190 very interesting, and we may reproduce it in our next number. America, as we all know goes in more for coffee and cocoa, and this is what an American medical paper writes :—

> "Few people realise that the difference between drinking of alcohol and tea is simply a question of degree. It is true that the harmful consequences of excessive tea-drinking are not as serious as those from over-indulgence in ardent spirits; but the pernicious effect of the constant drinking of strong infusions of tea justify us in calling the practice a serious menace to health. Tea leaves contain from 2 to 4 per cent. of caffeine, or theine, which is an alkaloid, and is always found in combination with tannin. They also contain a volatile oil, which is the source of the aroma, and in addition, possess sedative qualities. Tannin is a most powerful astringent, and hence is strongly provocative of constipation. Its action upon the inner surface of the stomach is disastrous to that organ as it arrests the excretion of the gastric juice by its contractile effects upon the glands. Its constant use will almost invariably result in digestive disturbances, and will intensely aggravate such troubles, if previously existing. It is true that a cup of hot tea is a refreshing beverage; but not more so than a cup of hot milk or cocoa; in fact, it is the heat that imparts the sense of comfort. Children should never be allowed to drink either tea or coffee, as the seeds of a baneful habit may be sown; for in tea, as in dram drinking, it is a habit easily acquired. The votaries of the tea-cup by far outnumber those of Bacchus, so that, granting that tea-drinking is a little less severe in its constitutional ill effects, yet the greater prevalence of the habit renders it equal to alcohol in its destructive effects.

Another authority, writing from England, remarks :—

> "On the subject of prices, so far as they concern the housewife, I would just like to say a few words which may be useful. There is no economy in cheap tea. On the contrary, it is the most wasteful commodity known. It lacks every good quality of tea and is full of bad ones. I know apparently intelligent people who buy tea at 1*s*. 8*d*., 1*s*. and 1*s*. 10*d*. a pound—sometimes as broken-leaved tea—who would turn up their noses in disgust at cheap food or spirits or wines, under the impression that they are getting good stuff. Never was a greater mistake made. They get rubbish, which yields a liquor quite unlike the infusion a really good leaf gives. It is dark-coloured, strong and full, and is an absolute poison. It has little fragrance or flavour, it lacks theine—the only valuable property in tea,—and it contains the elements (tannin especially) which do so much injury to the human stomach and system generally. It is a remarkable fact that in Ireland the poor people even drink only the best teas, and so the injurious effects of tea drinking so patent in this country are never seen there. If you want a tea that will yield a grateful, comforting, and almost harmless beverage, you must pay 3*s*. a pound for it—speaking generally. You may, if you are lucky, get it at 2*s*. 8*d*., but that will be seldom. Men in the trade who know what tea is never use the cheaper qualities. The tea I myself buy for my family is retailed at 3*s*. 4*d*. a pound, and it is worth fully three times 'our special blend at 2*s*. and in this connection, I may just point out that the cheaper teas yield the most profit to the seller. That ought to tell its own story. Though I am in the trade, I look with amazement and almost horror at the enormous increase of tea-drinking, especially amongst women. It is one of the most insidious vices known, and the victim of tea-drunkenness—for there is such a thing, believe me—is not aware of her bondage, until she tries to do without the accustomed stimulant. When this is withheld she suffers more than you would imagine. Any physician, consulting or

> otherwise, will tell you of cases where the subjects have become physical and mental and moral wrecks. You notice, I say moral, for it is a singular fact that tea-drinkers to excess often lose their moral control to a pitiable extent How many times should tea be drunk in a day? Well, twice is quite enough, but three times is the extreme limit of safety, and then only if the tea be good and not infused for more than three minutes at the outside. And only one cupful should be drunk at one sitting, so to speak. Don't think I am an alarmist on this subject. I am not. I merely tell you facts which have been proved up to the hilt."

As regards the sister Indian produce of Indigo the rapid decline in the cultivation in the United Provinces brought about by the fall in prices continues. According to the first forecast of the present crop the total area sown is only 71,609 acres, as compared with 119,313 acres last year, while the amount receving canal irrigation is less than half that of the previous year. This decrease of 40 and 51 per cent, respectively, following on similar decreases of 37 and 50 per cent. last year, is eloquent of the evil times that have overtaken a once-flourishing industry.

Where oh! where—are the grand old days of the famous Agra and Aligurh Planters? Or of the Jessore and Faridpur days of 1815? Or even of the Dacca days of the Forties and Fifties? They do not live in the memory and experience of any one now living in India save ourselves! We would not give one of those days when the fathers and grandfathers and great-grandfathers of our *present* race of "Nawabs," "Rajahs" and "Maharajahs" used to stand handfolded behind our chairs.

"Ah! would those days but come again
With their bright smiles and flowers,
I'd give the hopes of many years
For those same happy hours!"

[There were no Telegraphs and Railways then; nor Indian Congress-wallahs; nor "politics" (such as we have it at present).] Hospitality and kindliness abounded; there were no "cads" or "snobs;" true culture was common; life was an extended God-given thorough and true enjoyment; and even the natives were kindly treated and regarded. (We need not draw the picture presented by the present.)

It is well known that rice has been cultivated many years now in the Southern of the United States. The produce now is sufficiently large to compete with India and Siam in the European markets.

The India Development Company, which lately came in with Sir Alexander Mackenzie as Chairman, has held an Extraordinary General Meeting, to show what they have been doing. They have gone in first for sugar cultivation, and their Report is certainly a very hopeful one so far as that product is concerned. We would advise everyone interested in the development of the natural commercial products of India—and even of her minerals—to read the Report, which is too lengthy for us to insert here. "Old Indians" at home cannot do better than thus unite for the true bettering of the country, than sit in lazy Mutual Administration Conclaves and produce prosy and lengthy papers which nobody in India even glances at, and which only make the hard-worked Editor objurgate profanely.

The sixteenth issue of the Official Agricultural Statistics of British India is very severely, and justly, criticised by the *Madras Mail* for its confusion and unreliable figures. It is possible that the new Bureau of Commerce, Agriculture and Mining will produce some improvement. We, however, doubt it. In India that which hath been, is, and ever shall be, even with a Lord Curzon frantically pulling up the teams every now and then. In America and the Colonies it is different. Let our young Civil Servants have a turn in America or Australia, for three years, before they are sent out to govern and administer India, and there may be some hopes of a completer order of things in these (and many other) matters.

In the internal traffic of India food-grains figure the largest quantity. Next to them comes coal. After coal come jute, oilseeds, salt, in due succession. Then sugar and raw cotton. This enormous inter-Indian trade needs a "Department" by itself. Intimately related to this interior trade is our disjointed and struggling Railway System. Compared with the working of American Railways we seem to be nowhere. For instance, the subjoined list, arranged in the same order as the next list of train loads, shows the cost of transportation per ton mile :—

Great Indian Peninsula Railway	3·28 pies
Eastern Bengal State Railway	2·66 pies
North-Western Railway	3·30 pies
Bengal-Nagpur Railway	2·20 pies
East Indian Railway	1·71 pies
Michigan Central Railroad	2·70 pies
Philadelphia and Reading Railway	2·67 pies
New York, Chicago, and St. Louis Railroad ..	2·33 pies
Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis Railway	2·32 pies
New York Central and Hudson River Railroad ...	2·10 pies
Erie Railroad	......
Norfolk and Western Railway	1·55 pies
Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway ...	1·92 pies
Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad	1·60 pies
Pennsylvania Railroad	2·18 pies
Chesapeake and Ohio Railway	1·33 pies

Making due allowance for other differences, there is in general a very remarkable agreement between the train load and economy of transportation. All the railways whose average train load exceeds 350 tons per train are able to work more cheaply than the Indian railways with the single exception of the East Indian Railway, and of the five railways whose average train load exceeds 400 tons, three exhibit a less cost per ton mile than even the East Indian Railway. A glance at the figures of the average weight of goods carried in trains is instructive :—

Great Indian Peninsula Railway	134 tons
Eastern Bengal State Railway	149 tons
North-Western Railway	150 tons
Bengal-Nagpur Railway	156 tons
East Indian Railway	196 tons
Michigan Central Railroad	229 tons
Philadelphia and Reading Railway	231 tons
New York, Chicago, and St. Louis Railroad ...	279 tons
Cleveland, Cincinnati, and St. Louis Railway ...	335 tons
New York Central and Hudson River Railroad ..	361 tons
Erie Railroad	369 tons
Norfolk and Western Railway	435 tons
Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway ...	455 tons
Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad	479 tons
Chesapeake and Ohio Railway...	488 tons

It will be observed that the train load on the East Indian Railway is greater than on the other four Indian railways, but less than the train load on any of the eleven American railways. There is generally a very definite correspondence between train load and cost of transport. To show how we manage (or mismanage, or neglect) things in India that have an intimate bearing on trade, there is not another large port in the whole world served so horribly as Calcutta by bullocks and carts of the time of Noah. The whole trade is heavily taxed and delayed by a wretched service, which, but too often, again, becomes disorganised through "strikes." Let us not blame the poor, ignorant, wretched cartmen, or the Police, or the Government, but our own commercial and mercantile selves. There is room for more than one Tram Company, with handsome profits, to take the place of the ten or twenty thousand carts which congest the thoroughfares of the port, destroy the roads, and make Government, police, and the public to swear profane oaths.

We would also again draw attention to the iniquities of our British-Indian Telegraph system. The following list of rates, taken at random, will show little regard is had to justice, patriotism, mileage, common-sense, or other standard in amercing the public. Rates from London to :—

Place.	Miles.	Per word.	
Vancouver	6,000 ...	1	6
Accra	6,400 ..	6	3
Aden	4,750 ...	3	9
Fao (Persian Gulf) ...	3,300 ...	0	6½
Alexandria	3,050 ...	1	7
Perth	11,120 ...	4	7
Bombay	6,390 ...	2	6
Borneo	9,500 ...	5	0
Lagos	5,250 ...	7	1
Tunis	1,350 ...	0	3½
Constantinople ...	2,030 ...	0	6½

The Companies charge prohibitive rates to British possessions, while comparatively moderate rates are charged to foreign countries by the land lines, with which the Companies have nothing to do. Sir Edward Sassoon is still nobly carrying on the war at home.

The Overland Railway route is still attracting attention. *Engineering* writes :—

> Securely established as British interests now are in Egypt, there can be no question, says *Engineering*, that the overland route to India should, and will, start from Alexandria, follow the Egyptian railways through Cairo and Ismailia, and the remodelled narrow-gauge line, up to the neighbourhood of El Kantarah (where the caravan route to Syria crosses the Suez Canal). There it will cross the Suez Canal, and strike across the desert of El Till to El Arish, the Ottoman frontier at the Brook of Egypt. Thence it would follow generally the 31 parallel of north latitude till Naserie, on the Euphrates, 700 miles from El Arish, is reached. From Naserie to Bassorah, the old Euphrates Valley route could be followed, and a valuable branch built to Koweit, as originally proposed. The crossing of the Shat-el-Arab at Bassorah and of the various big rivers in the 76 miles between that and the Persian frontier at Mohammerah, and the 50 miles beyond to Dorak, would involve heavy and expensive bridging. The line through Southern Persia and Beluchistan to Karachi, whether a coast route or one further inland is followed, would generally be heavy and expensive from the engineering point of view. The distances would probably be 1,501 miles from the Turko-Persian frontier to Karachi. The cost of this line should, however, be covered by some £10,000 a mile, or a total of £15,000,000 ; the remaining 1,000 miles. or so, would add five millions. The overland journey of some 2,600 miles from Alexandria to Karachi, even if the speed of travel did not exceed 30 miles an hour. could be covered in a little over 3½ days, and the sea journey from England 6½ days. Ten days should land troops in India from London by practically an all-British route. Karachi is about 450 miles from Quetta, 800 miles from Bombay, and 1,500 miles from Calcutta by railway. By the present all sea route, *viâ* Gibraltar and Suez Canal, Karachi could not be reached under 16 days at the quickest. It is clear that a saving of some 38 per cent. in the time of transit from London to the Afghan frontier might, under certain contingencies, become of vital importance. The raising of the 20 millions required could, and would, be considerably facilitated by an Egyptian and Ottoman, Persian and Baluchistan guarantee secured on the tithes of the provinces crossed by the line. This could be limited, as in the case of the Anatolian Railways, to a sum not exceeding, say, £300 a mile a year, to cover the interest at 3½ per cent. on a capital. The circumstance of the British and Indian Governments being co-interested in the line would ensure the requisite capital being raised at a rate not exceeding 3½ per cent.

Of the imports into Bushire, which showed an increase, the principal were cotton, piece-goods, glass and glassware, cutlery, kerosine oil, provisions and tea. There was a decline in indigo. India heads the list of importers, her share being worth £1,297,000, while the United Kingdom, which stands next upon the list, sent stuff worth £1,061,000. A very long way after these two comes France, with goods valued at £174,000, Austro-Hungary £25,000, Germany £21,000, and Russia £12,000. The rest of the trade was done by coasters from Turkish, Arabian and other Persian ports. Leaving this trade on one side, it is seen that India and Britain did 92 per cent. of the Gulf trade. The Annual Report is interesting and instructive.

The following lines on the trade of Abyssinia are from the *Times of India*:—

> A Greek merchant has had for some time past the monopoly o purchasing skins in Abyssinia at any rate he pleased, in consideratio of the payment of 85,000 dollars per annum to King Menelik. Formerly the people used to sell skins at about dollars 15 per score, and now the Greek merchant buys skins at dollars 5 or 6 per score. Now it is reported in letters received from Harrar that one Mahomed Ali, a Bohra and leading merchant of Abyssinia, has obtained from the King of Abyssinia the monopoly or the sole right of purchasing coffee in Abyssinia and Harrar. No one else in future is to be allowed to purchase coffee there or to export it except the Bohra monopolist. Coffee sells at Harrar at $6 per maund of 36lbs. and the monopolist may buy it at half this rate. On hearing of this monopoly, the merchants of Harrar, natives, Arabs, Indians, Jews, and Europeans went to Ras Makonen and represented to him the great hardship that this monopoly woud be on all people, and the injurious effect that it will have on trade. He asked them why they had raised no objection to the monopolies of skins and salt, and thy replied that those monopolies where comparatively of small significance; but this one affects most injuriously all people, rich and poor. Ras Makonen said that he did not like these monopolies and had nothing to do with the coffee monopoly which emanated from the King and that he would repre-sent their grievance to His Majesty and do what he could for the It is not certain whether the contract for this monopoly has bee already concluded and signed or not. It is said that the Bohra merchar has a French partner with him. It is also reported that other merchants are seeking to obtain the monopolies of buying ivory or selling piece-gods or shirtings.
>
> The trade of Jibuti with Abyssinia is on the increase. Almost all the coffee and ivory pass into it now, and large quantities are shipped direct to Europe by the Messageries steamers. Some Indian merchants, who formerly carried on business at Zella, have removed to Jibuti, and even the native merchants who are domicilled in Zeila get their goods from Harra consigned *viâ* Jibuti to their agents at Aden. From the Arabian coast small quantities of coffee and grain are now and then sent to Jibuti. Large houses have been built for some French merchants who are expected to arrive shortly and open business there. If cheap communication is opened between it and Hodeida, Mocha, and other Arabian ports, and the Arabs find a ready market for their produce there at good rates, they will be attracted to it. The new Governor of Jibuti, who arrived a month ago, is very popular. He holds regular levées of merchants—Arabs, Somalis and Indians—and talks to them on all important subjects affecting them, and he endeavours to study their sentiments, telling them to represent to him always any matter which concerns them or affects the port or its trade.

The German Press is very angry because it has been said in England that the German Government is a partner in the German steamship lines. The North-German Lloyd had, until the other day, a capital of four millions sterling. It has been in receipt of a direct subsidy from the State of £280,000 a year. A simple arithmetical calculation will show that this is exact 7 per cent. upon its capital. That is to say, the North-German Lloyd can run its ships without any commercial profit and yet pay 7 per cent. to its shareholders. It can lose

£80,000 a year and still pay 5 per cent. As a matter of fact, it has been paying 8½ per cent.; that is to say, its working profit is 1½ per cent. French bounties represent 12½ per cent. upon the whole capital engaged in shipping; and Austria pays about 35*s*. per ton all round, working out to probably 15 per cent. on its capital. It is expected that there will be a greatly increased trade with China, which is now ordering all foreign troops (including German !) to leave Shanghai.

We should not conclude this section without noticing the Viceroy's attempt to create a Bureau of Commerce, Agriculture and Mines. It is, of course, a move in the modern, and right, direction. We say " attempt," as it will be usual thing in India. We have not sufficient first-class men in the service to fill up even the higher gubernatorial appointments, and here we shall want, at least, some half a dozen men, from the Director-General or Secretary, down to the Commercial Editor, he Agricultural Editor, and the Mining Editor—all men, too, who have been imbued with some knowledge of these things in other truly-progressive countries, and not brought up in Hindoo "district" work or writing absurd and incompetent " judgments "—square pegs in round holes. The Madras Chamber of Commerce very pungently and truly remarks :—

> The Chamber hardly feels it necessary to point that the person selected for the post of Director-General of Commercial Intelligence must be a person of experience and proved business capacity, who will be discreet and tactful in his dealings with the commercial public, and who will have the energy to tour frequently throughout India for the purpose of collecting and imparting information. The Chamber will not go so far as to say that it would be impossible to find a person with these qualifications in the ranks of the Civil service or the Finance Department; but it is so very essential to the success of the Bureau that its head should possess these qualifications in the fullest possible degree, that the Chamber trusts that the selection will be made from a wider field if no such person can be found amongst officials. In case, the Chamber thinks that it would be advisable to recruit one of the two new officers—either the Director General or the Director of the Commercial Branch—from amongst men who have been actually trained in mercantile business. [Why not also the others ?]
>
> In conclusion, the Chamber ventures to take this opportunity of remarking that if Government is desirous of encouraging Indian trade and industry it has in its powers to do so to a very great extent a ready (even without any Bureau such as is contemplated) by showing a practical interest in the removal of difficulties which traders have brought to notice as the result of existing Government Regulations. Hitherto such representations have frequently met with such apparent indifference and delay that commercial men are inclined to consider it waste of time to make them, and the Chamber is not hopeful of results from the proposed Bureau so long as this is the spirit on which it will be ultimately dependent. As an example of the official apathy which the Chamber so mistrusts, it would refer to the Chamber's correspondence about salt export and manufacture. This correspondence has been going on with the Board of Revenue, the Madras Government

and the Government of India for nearly 5 years, without so far eliciting any more satisfactory reply than that "the matter is under the consideration of Government." While this is the treatment accorded to a Chamber of Commerce, it is obvious that private firms and individuals have even less grounds for hope from official assistance and can scarcely be expected to co-operate with Government in the way necessary to make the proposed Bureau a real and practical success.

LITERATURE, ART, AND SCIENCE.

In matters journalistic we note a number of "libel" cases ranging from Ceylon to Burmah and Madras, and if there has not been one in Calcutta it is owing to the excellent behaviour under severe provocation of the paper attacked. In Ceylon a newspaper owned by a person with a long Dutch name, attacked some one owning a long French name, who, for reasons, had become a circumcized Mahommedan, and who had got into his hands some lands owing, as alleged, to his office under Government. The Court took a metaphysical and disconnected view of the case, and, we regret for the person with the long Dutch name, made him pay altogether some Rs. 30,000. In Madras the two native papers, the *Standard* and the *Hindu*, went at each other like cats and dogs, and after a terrible deal of snarling and threatening unimaginable things, made up, disappointing sorely the *quidnunc* who writes the nasty things on the *Pioneer*. We omit further reference to the matter that might have cropped up in Calcutta, and that, too, between two journals. With all this we note also, that, of late, journalistic "amenities" have not been few. The *Englishman* furnished the following *para.*:—

"An awful suspicion will presently cross the minds of certain up-country newspaper readers, if indeed, it has not flashed upon them already, that Lord Curzon is a Viceroy who can do nothing right. Scarcely a day passes without its paragraph. Sometimes it is amusingly didactic; at other times it is painfully humorous. Sometimes it satirises His Excellency's fondness for appointing Commissions; sometimes it moralises over his obliquity in acting without any such intermediary. But it is always there. That is why we are afraid that some day the readers of the paper will awaken to the fact that the *Pioneer* is seriously offended with the Viceroy. What will happen then it is most difficult to tell. What *did* happen, by the way, in the case of the 'Skibbereen Eagle' and the Czar?"

The *Englishman* got afterwards from the *Pioneer* thus:— "We are in a position to state that there is not the slightest foundation for the announcement in a Calcutta paper—[*Englishman*]—that tentative arrangements are being made for the reception of the Prince of Wales, in India in December. No arrangements, tentative or otherwise, are being made or are going to be made, for the simple reason that there is not even a remote probability that the Prince of Wales will come out to India this year. On the other hand it is now practically certain, as we intimated sometime back, that all going well, the Prince of Wales will visit India in the autumn of 1903." Imagine the *Pioneer's* being "in a position to state" (!) anything whatever to the *Englishman*, and referring to it as 'a Calcutta paper' !!! The *Englishman* also, further, gave "one in his eye" to the *Indian Daily News*,—taking our poor and innocent selves as furnishing the occasion (where we stated that it was a mistake to think we did not like our *dear* Viceroy)—going so far as to impute "malice" to the *Indian Daily News*. According to Shakespeare the latter ought to have either "punched" the *Englishman's* head in return, or "taken the law out of him;" for the word "malice" is clearly actionable. The *Indian Daily News*, however, forgetting the exact offender, or where he stood, dealt two back-handed slaps at the *Pioneer* in the matter of the latter's pitiful (?) attacks on poor and defenceless Missionaries and giving forth as news what was a fortnight old. Whether such "amenities" are contagious, or the fierce summer heat of Madras unfixed the usually very mild and sedate habits and temper of the *Madras Mail*, we find it also entering the ring and, thus, "giving it" to the unhappy Allahabad print:—"The case against a Calicut Prince" is the heading given by the *Pioneer* to a report of the case against Kuttuni Rajah, of the Zamorin family. This is the first time we have heard of 'Princes, in Calicut. It is certainly time that some definite and authoritative rules* were promulgated concerning the use of this and similar titles in India." After all this we, in Australian fashion, should suggest "drinks all round" Liveliness is the sign of life and we do not look askance at a little "give and take"—indeed, the repartees of wit and humour might be very much more forcible with considerable effect.

We have to notice the death of two old and (for India) very respectable Reporting hands in Calcutta. Also the departure for Home of Mr. Pate of the *Sind Gazette;* and of Mr. M. Park of the *Pioneer*, a lineal descendant of old Mungo Park, for Capetown for the *Cape Times*, a position to which that crack and veteran journalist, St. Leger of Madras, would probably have been called (to succeed his brother, the late Proprietor), only that India could spare him least and Mr. M. Park most. Mr. M. Park, however, is to be congratulated, as a day of S. A. is worth a cycle of India (Allahabad included !) even under Lord Curzon's fifty years pressed into five rule. The *Pioneer* has now lost its ablest hand. It has lost much ground of late years, and were it not that Sir William Rattigan is getting careless of such trifles, he might see what could be done to bring back its old palmy days (*after* we had relinquished the grand *Lahore Chronicle*). The mention of Chief Justice Blair presiding to give a send-off to "Mungo" Park reminds us that the last person to wish us "Good-bye" from South Africa was "His Honour" Sir Henry Bale, Kt., K. C., etc., Chief Justice of Natal (and also sometime Acting Governor). Finally, Mr. T. Jewell Bennett of the *Times of India*, now in England, has been presented with the silver medal of the Society of Arts and Literature for his very able paper on the "Persian Gulf." We have also to note the advent of another paper in Madras called *Native States*, evidently derived from our own introduced feature in these "Quarter's Notes." Such a paper might prove very useful, if it could refrain from rousing animosities. This Madras paper is ably written; but it contains much questionable matter. We have made a few extracts from it.

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* It will be seen here that the *Madras Mail* agrees with us—as the *Pioneer* did before—in calling for "definite and authoritative rules" regarding native titles.

In regard to ourselves, we have received the following lines to correct a slip in the article on "The Bishops of Calcutta" in our January number :—

"Bishop Heber was succeeded by Bishop James. Bishop Turner died in India."

Also, in regard to a quotation in another article in the same number :—

> "Will you kindly permit me to point out what looks like an error in the article on European and Hindu Systems of Music, which appears in the January number. The concluding quotation I find in Shelley's "To Jane :—The keen stars were twinkling," thus :—
>
> IV.
>
> . . . .
>
> Of some world far from ours
> Where music and moonlight and feeling are one :
>
> :—Shelley : Poetical Works, p. 597 (Macmillan (1890), Cr, 8vo., Ed. Dowden).
>
> I do not know where it occurs in Swinburne, to whom the lines are attributed by Mr. C. T. Naidu. If the gentleman can kindly furnish the reference in Swinburne, it will certainly give us an interesting coincidence (or plagiarism ?). "

The *Hindoo Patriot* has given us lately a rather too kindly notice in a leader. Our connection with the *Calcutta* dates from 1860 when the Mathematician Dr. T. Smith, D. D., was the Editor—so that we have now written for it forty-three years ! Not only for its sake, but for that of India, we wish we were younger or had a prospect of staying in the country. We are not only the dozen of the Indian Press but we remember India when there was neither the *Pioneer* nor this *Hindoo Patriot*—before even the conquest of the Punjab—and our long and varied day is closing fast.* A mighty change has come over the whole country. Great movements are taking place in every direction, and much wisdom, insight and experience are wanted to both see them and guide things aright with a firm hand that would be trusted by all. Fate, or Providence, however, always laughs at our puny and partial imaginings, and has its own way of bringing things about and decides which things to bring about, and we who are in its hands may rest quite content and cheerful. And we are told that everyone shall stand in his "lot" at the end, some to rise to honour and some to "shame and everlasting contempt." The practical question with everyone of us is, where shall we be found? Among the mean, dishonorable, worthless, contemptible and rejected—or among the exalted and ennobled. With all this however, the doctrine of *Karma* does not come in, but of *Mercy* (in the One Sacrifice) and Free Gifts therein lies any one's hope. Finally, in regard to ourselves, we have been written to by some one, who has no personal acquaintance with Mr. Buckland, asking us why, according to us in our last, he should not write Sir John Woodburn's administration in his *Lieutenant-Governors* [illegible] *Bengal*; and states that not only might he be trusted to deal perfectly fairly with his subject, but he might be removed to some higher post under the Government of India, where the bar now attached to his writing about his Chief would not operate.

The work of revising the "Imperial Gazetteer of India" is in the hands of Mr. Risley. The most interesting feature will be the expansion of one volume dealing with "India" into four volumes, descriptive, economic, administrative and historical. The descriptive volume, for example, will contain chapters on Physical Aspects, by Sir Thomas Holdich; Botany, by Sir Joseph Hooker; Zoology, by Mr. W. T. Blanford; Languages, by Mr. Grierson; Geology, by Mr. T. H. Holland; Religion, by Mr. W. Crooke; Public Health, by Major Roberts, I.M.S.; Ethnology, by Mr. H. Risley himself. In the Economic Volume Agriculture will be treated by Mr. W. Mollison, Trade by Mr. J. O'Conor, Arts and Industries by Dr. Watt. The Administrative Volume will give a complete account of the working of the Government of India, each chapter being written under the supervision of the Department concerned, usually by an officer specially appointed, who will work in consultation with the Editor. An entirely new departure will be a description of the Army in India, which gets less than two pages in Sir William Hunter's Volume. Mr. G. de Rhe Philipe has just been placed on special duty to write this under the Military Department, to which he belongs. Mr. Risley's responsibility is a wide one, for he has drawn up the whole scheme and has selected most of the writers, even those for the historical volume, which will be done at Home and edited by Mr. James Cotton, sometime Editor of the *Academy*.

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* *Our Reminiscences of India from the time of Lord Hardinge downwards* would be interesting.—Ed., *C. R.*

It is announced that the life of Lord Dufferin will be written by Sir Alfred Lyall, to whom all private papers and correspondence necessary for the purpose have been entrusted by the family. We add, in a subsequent page, another authentic (and first-hand) anecdote characteristic of the late Marquis of Dufferin and Ava."

At a recent meeting of the Philological Society of London—the Rev. Professor Skeat, in the chair—the Chairman read a paper, by his son Mr. W. W. Skeat, "On the Wild Tribes of the Malay Peninsula." In this country Mr. Skeat was for over seven years in our colonial service and saw a great deal of the natives and the Peninsula. It is divided between Great Britain and Siam, and is sparsely inhabited save for the big towns like Singapore and Penang. Away from the coast line and towns stands the primeval forest, in gaps of which are the Malay ricefields and gardens of sweet potatoes, sugarcane and mai[illegible] whilst through the forest itself roam shy wild pigmy tribes about 4ft. 8in. high, the Semang, Sakai and Jakun. (1) The Semang are black, and have round and woolly heads, belong to the Negrito race, may be compared with the pigmies of Central Africa, and grouped with the Negritos of the Philippines and the Andamanese Islanders of the Bay of Bengal. They are not directly related to the Negroes or the Papuans, though they may, as Sir W. Flower once suggested, represent the undeveloped form of a race, of which the Negroes on the one hand and the Papuans on the other are highly specialised derivatives. (2) The Sakai may be, as Virchow suggested, a branch of an aboriginal Dravido-Australian race, now represented by the Tamil of Southern India, the Veddahs of Ceylon, and the Australian "Black Fellows." The pure-bred Sakai are often as fair as any race equally exposed to the sun and air can be, and they often look emaciated; their hair is wavy; their foreheads high and flat; their faces broad at the cheekbones, but narrow at the forehead, and ending at the bottom in a sharp-pointed chin. (3) The Jakuns are the tallest of the three aboriginal races, and are savage (*i.e.*, non-Mahomedan) Malays. They are a distant offshoot of the Mongolian stock. The *pur sang* Jakuns have high cheekbones like the Chinaman's; but their eyes are horizontal; their skin is a swarthy olive-brown, with a coppery tinge; their heads are round and bullet-shaped; their faces rather flat; their features strong and squarely cut; their hair long, straight, and black with the bluish tint characteristic of the Mongol. The languages of these wild tribes are usually uninflected, and resemble the Malay in structure ; (1) Semang has borrowed most of its words from aboriginal Malayan and Mon Annamese, and has probably only five per cent. of its own original element. Subject, object, verb, is the normal order of the sentence ; the genitive and adjective follow the noun. (2) Sakai has about fifteen per cent. of its own words, most of the rest being Mon Annamese. (3) With the Jakuns we come to the aboriginal Malayan language, traces of which are found in Formosa on the north, Easter Island in the east, New Zealand on the south, and Madagascar on the west. Of all these languages Mr. Skeat gave specimens, with comparative tables of numerals and other words proving the connection between them.

Interesting as all this is to us who went over almost simultaneously with Professor Wallace the whole area represented by the Malayan Peninsula (and further north), Borneo, the East Indian Archipelago, Australasia, and the South Sea Islands, and made a special study of the tribes and their tongues, etc., we do not see any addition to Mr. Logan's researches of those days, or to what was known half a century ago. Verily we live in the present in a peculiar age.

Professor M. Ranga Charya, M.A., Curator of the Madras Government Oriental Mausucripts Library, has submitted his report for the year 1901-1902. The total number of visitors to the institution during the year was 1,930, of whom 1,125 were copyists and 599 readers. This is an advance of 300 over the figures for the previous year. "Poetry" heads the list of manuscripts consulted, "Religion" holding the next place. Among the works which were transcribed for the Library during the year is a treatise on Arithmetic and Geometry, which is described to be older than Lilavati itself, an ancient work of great repute on these subjects. *Aryabhatiyam* is the title of the oldest Indian treatise extant on systematic astronomy, having been written in the fifth century—which is a valuable addition to the excellent stock already collected. Another work obtained during the year was a copy of Apastamba's Sulba Sutra, with commentary, a work which is particularly interesting and valuable as giving us some insight into the knowledge of Geometry as possessed by Indian Aryas of the Vedic period and as applied by them to the needs of their sacrificial rituals, such as the construction of sacrificial altars, etc. The work of preparing the descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts was completed during the year, and the cataloguing of the vernacular manuscripts which has recently been sanctioned by Government will be taken in hand as early as practicable.

There appear to be several Native Indian Libraries from the following account :—

In 1880 the late Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, C.I.E., the renowned Sanskritist and Oriental scholar, published under the orders of Government of India a catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Library of His Highness the Maharajah of Bikanere, under the auspices of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra concluded his preface to the above volume of 750 pages thus :—" I regret much that as regards the many rare Hindu works which exist in the archives of the Maharajah, and which have not been met with elsewhere, I have not been able to do more than give their names, and that in this respect the following pages should remain imperfect. The names, however, may attract the notice of some fellow-labourer in the field of Sanskrit bibliography, and hereafter elicit useful contributions to the noble undertaking of Government, the survey of the Sanskrit literature still extant in the country." It is now twenty-two years since the above words were written, and it is worth enquiring whether the ambition of Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra has been realised by any of our countrymen devoted to Sanskrit literature ? Is it impossible for some of them to go to Bikanere, obtain permission of His Highness, and publish some of the useful ancie[illegible] works ? Lord Curzon takes a deal of interest in preservin[illegible] ancient Hindu monuments, and we commend to His Excellency the treasury of Sanskrit literature stored up in the Maharajah's library. The Maharajah of Jodhpur has an extensive library which contains more than 2,000 Sanskrit manuscripts, a large collection of printed Sanskrit works, and several hundred manuscripts in Hindi and Marwari. Kashmir again offers a large unexplored field of ancient literature. Mr. G. Buhler of Bombay, several years ago, remarked as follows :—" Kashmir has been for many centuries one of the chief seats of Hindu learning and literature. The Rajatarangini mentions numerous Kasmiri poets whose works have not yet been recovered. We owe the preservation of the Mahabhasya, the great commentary on Panini of the second century B. C. entirely to the Kasmiri Pundits. Kashmir has been, and probably still is, one of the chief seats of these Brahmins who study the Atharva Veda which now numbers very few adherents in India proper. Results of the greatest interest may be expected from an examination of the Kashmir libraries for the political history of India." Of the Tanjore Palace Library Mr. A. C. Burnell wrote as follows :—" It is now a recognised fact that nearly all Sanskrit works of importance exist in different recensions. The Tanjore Library is unrivalled in this respect. It contains several good manuscripts of all the most important ones known as yet, including a few that are new. The Tanjore Library contains additional manuscripts of most of the works which I had discovered elsewhere, and this is a matter of great rtance. I believe that this library must sooner or later at to Government ; the preparation of this catalogue will fore protect property of enormous value. As far as I can it would not be possible to form a collection like that at ore at a less cost than £50,000 ; but many manuscripts are uestionably unique."

Besides these there are others of value at Bahawulpur, ampur, Patna, and other places.

Lord Reay presided at the Annual General Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on the afternoon of the 13th ultimo, and on the motion of the Right Hon'ble Sir M. E. Grant Duff was re-elected President for a further triennial period. Sir M. E. Grant Duff, Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, Sir Charles J. Lyall and Sir Raymond West, who retired by rotation, were re-elected Vice-Presidents. Professor A. A. Macdonnell, Mr. J. T. Fleet, C.I.E., Professor R. K. Douglas, Professor E. C. Browne and Mr. Langworth Dumes were nominated to the Council, the three gentlemen last-named being new members. To fill the vacancies caused by the deaths of Professor Tiele of Leyden University, and Professor Weber, the great Sanskritist of Berlin, Professor Houtsma of Utrecht, the distinguished Semitic scholar, and professor Lanman of Harvard University were elected honorary members. The Report which was adopted on the motion of Sir W. H. Rattigan, M. P., announced a small net increase of membership and a gradual increase in the funds available for the work of the Society.

Arrangements have been made for the publication of a series of Asiatic monographs, thus bringing the Society into line with kindred institutions in France, Germany, Holland and Russia. The new undertaking will not in the least interfere with the already existing series of Oriental translations, and will be independent of the original contributions to the Society's *Journal*. The heavy liabilities incurred in respect to rates, taxes and rent are commented upon in the Report, and it is pointed out that other learned societies of similar standing are relieved by Government from any expenditure for these purposes. With reference to the proposal to establish an Oriental School in London, the Report states that the Council will lose no opportunity of pressing upon the University authorities, whenever they have to decide upon the apportionment of funds under the re-organised scheme, the importance and the needs of Oriental research. The Society's work was never so extensive as at present, but the Council feels that it is really at the beginning of its labours, since on historical, political and commercial grounds, the importance and interest of Asiatic research, already largely recognised abroad, is likely to be more adequately recognised in this country than heretofore.

The Oriental Religious Congress proposed to be hel
Tokyo in April next is expected to be joined in by Cl
Japan, Corea, Siam, Burma and India. It is evident tha
of the great objects of the gathering will be a mutual e
by Hindu and Buddhist delegates to demonstrate that Hi
ism and Buddhism are identical, though their identity is
guised. It has been already advanced by a Bengali Hin
supporter of the Congress that there is no fundamental di
ference between the two religions, and that the distinction between them is as superficial as that existing between the Sankhya and the Vedant systems of Hindu Philosophy. And this is how India is playing with her destinies !

A Congress of Bengali literati is proposed to be held next April at Murshidabad. The Congress will last for several days, during which a rich programme will be gone through. There will be discussions on the best means for improving and developing Bengali literature, but the chief object of the gathering will be to effect a union of the literati of the country and to provide for them an annual festival at which they can meet to interchange thoughts and ideas in the midst of literary entertainments of various kinds. In the way of entertainments there will be dramatic performances, recitations from the Bengali poets, in some cases by the poets themselves, and an exhibition of the MSS. of eminent authors and their other literary relics. The Congress will conclude with the conferring of literary titles on distinguished authors and literary workers.

The Imperial Russian Geographical Society has received through the Russian Ambassador at Pekin, Mr. Lessar, the following telegram, sent by Lieutenant P. K. Kozloff, of the Russian Army, who is in charge of the expedition which was organised by the Geographical Society in 1899 for explorations in Central Asia:—"On 13th of June, the expedition safely returned to Tzaidam, where it found in excellent condition the stores it had left at that place last year in charge of three Russian soldiers. From the wintering place (in the vicinity of the Tchamd, in Eastern Tibet) the expedition succeeded in reaching the "Russian" Lake (at the head of the Yellow River). On 1st August we expect to start out in the direction of Kiachta, hoping to arrive there early in December." Thus the rumours that have for some time circulated, that the above expedition perished, were groundless.

Major Medley has made a splendid adventurous journey of 2,000 miles from India across Central Asia and Siberia. Major Medley was, for several years, stationed at Gilgit. On taking leave he made his way up the Hunza Valley and across the difficult Kilik Pass to the Pamirs, thence travelling *viâ* Kashgarh, across Siberia, to the Siberian Railway at Ob. The first portion of the journey was extraordinarily difficult, the route being a mere mountain track, a precipice on one side and a wall of rock on the other, in places so narrow that Major Medley describes himself as wishing his pony were a cat, so impossible did it sometimes seem to prevent the animals falling into the ice-cold river thousands of feet below. Once the open Pamirs were reached, his difficulties grew less. And afterwards, when he travelled by *tarantass* and sleigh, along the stage road which eventually brought him to Ob on the Siberian Railway, there was even a certain amount of comfort to be obtained, the posting arrangements being excellent and the officials everywhere civil. The cold in places was intense, as much as 54° of frost being experiened on the sleigh journey, but well provided as he was with furs Major Medley does not appear to have suffered from it. He was accompanied for a considerable portion of the journey by an escort of Cossacks of whose endurance he speaks highly. He describes them as Asiaticised Europeans for whom the difficulties of supply and transport are non-existent. Each man carried on his troop-horse eight days' grain for his animal, and a week's bread for himself, besides his own and his horses blankets and a change of linen. Each supplied his own rifle and saddle, and if anything went wrong with either, was able to replace them with ease for they are what are in daily use in every village. While Major Medley was in Kashgarh official intimation came from Tashkent that the Czar had given Dr. Sven Hedin permission to have two Cossack orderlies sent to him. No one knew exactly where the Swedish traveller was, but he had been heard of some six months previously from the neighbourhood of Lob-nor, and within twenty-four hours of the receipt of the message two Cossacks had started off on a march of 1,000 miles to find him, a feat they successfully accomplished.

Another fact which struck Major Medley was the growing prosperity of the inhabitants of Siberia whom he found to be thriving farmers who are rapidly developing the rich country in which they have made their homes. Even the political exiles are doing well, and he describes them as founding Universities and Museums, while the farmers are exporting a million pounds worth of butter in a year, *viâ* the Siberian Railway, to Great Britain. Of the Siberian Railway Major Medley also speaks appreciatively. Most of it, he found, is now completed, and he thinks there is every possibility that, next spring, visitors returning to Europe after the Delhi Proclamation Assemblage will be able to complete a round tour by railway from Port Arthur to Paris. Six trains have been built for the through service, and Major Medley describes them as fitted up with as many comforts and luxuries as a first class steamer. They run twice a week between Moscow and Stretensk, doing the 4,188 miles in 10 days, the first class fare, exclusive of food being £10. He found extraordinary extremes of climate, the temperature ranging from 125° (Fahrenheit) of frost in winter, to 100° (Fahrenheit) of heat in summer. He actually experienced the former temperature at Stretensk, which is equal to the severest cold experienced by the Duc d'Abruzzi in his polar expedition, but he says that owing to the absence of winds it was easily endurable, the bright sunny days and clear dry atmosphere making the climate an ideal one for consumptives.

Major Medley, we are glad to observe, is not excited over the dangers and hardships he experienced as was Hedin.

The following report by Dr. Prain, M.B., LL.D., F.R.S.E., I.M S., Superintendent, Royal Botanic Garden, Sibpur, appears in the *Calcutta Gazette* :—

The chief outdoor improvement to be recorded for the year 1901-1902 is the completion of the new road, alluded to in last report, from the point of junction of the Kurz and Thomson avenues to the Great Banyan. This road throws open to inspection a portion of the garden that has hitherto been somewhat inaccessible. The flooring of the girder bridge in the Kyd avenue, which consisted of wooden beams, having become so decayed as to be a source of public danger, has been replaced by a concrete floor of a permanent character. The interior of the Orchid House has been partially, and the small conservatory has been completely replanted and re-arranged during the year. A severe storm visited the garden on 26th November 1901, and did much damage by uprooting a number of valuable trees aud greatly disfiguring many that were not completely destroyed. With this exception the weather during the year was of a normal character and not unfavourable to vegetation.

Economic Plants.—The investigation of the dye-yielding *Indigoferas* noticed in last annual report has advanced considerably during the past year. The opportunity afforded by a visit to Europe was utilised in a careful comparison of examples of the *Indigoferas* cultivated in South Eastern Asia with the authentic material preserved in the Herbaria of London and Geneva. The results have been in some cases unexpected. The belief that at the time of the early intercourse of Europe with India, there were two centres of indigo export, if not of cultivation, has been confirmed. One of these centres was Surat, where the indigo grown was a form of the Egyptian indigo *Indigofera articulata*, which still persists in various parts of

India, notably in Scind and Rajputana, where even now this plant alone receives the name "Nil" applied in Tirhut and Bengal to quite different species. The other centre was Ceylon and the Coromandel Coast where the indigo was obtained from Indian indigo, *Indigofera tinctoria*, the produce of which was even in these early times held in less esteem than Surat indigo. There is evidence that the cultivation of the Surat or Egyptian indigo extended gradually eastward, reaching the Upper Gangetic plain about the time of Akbar, and apparently also finding its way later to Patna, Orissa, and the Circars. But there is no evidence that Egyptian indigo ever reached Bengal Proper. While the Dutch held possession of Malabar, a third indigo, *Indigofera Sumatrana*, apparently derived from Eastern Malaya, came into use there. This particular plant seems to have been introduced to Bengal, either from Malabar or directly from Malaya, about a century and-a-half ago, and proving a more satisfactory plant than either the Egyptian or the Indian kinds, has spread westward through Upper India as far as the Punjab and more recently southward to Madras—in the first case completely, and in the second almost completely driving out of cultivation the Egyptian and the Indian indigos, respectively. From Bengal it was taken to the West Indies, where it was, however, in turn displaced by first one and again a second native American kind, which latter has in virtue of its superior qualities, spread from America to Africa on the one hand and to Polynesia, S. China, Malaya, and Indo-China on the other; in Upper Burma, for example, this West Indian indigo is the only species to be met with. Either from the West Indies or directly from Bengal the plant now grown so largely in the Gangetic plain was also taken to Senegal and Angola, where it is still largely grown side by side with West Indian indigo, under the name "Indigo of Bengal." The importance of the knowledge thus obtained lies in the fact that another *Indigofera*, East African indigo, *Indigofera arrecta*, has become so favourably known under the name of "Natal Indigo" in the Dutch Indies that it seems to be displacing the various Asiatic and American kinds formerly cultivated there. It has been used as an argument against the proposal to introduce this East African *Indigofera* extensively into India, that it cannot possibly succeed so well as the kind now grown in India, and that it will be difficult to overcome the prejudices of the cultivators in favour of the kind they now grow. The answer to this is that the *Indigofera* now grown in India is not, as is usually supposed, *Indigofera tinctoria*, or Indian indigo, at all, but is really as much an exotic in Upper India as the East African kind. Further from the fact that *Indigofera tinctoria*, or true Indian indigo, is still found occasionally in a wild state in Rajputana, the hills to the south of Agra and Chota Nagpur, it may be inferred that Egyptian indigo had in Upper India long ago displaced Indian indigo. At any rate it is certain that within historical and very recent historical times, Malayan indigo, which is now so generally grown in the Gangetic plain, displaced Egyptian indigo. This being the case there is no reason why East African indigo should not in turn displace the Malayan kind. It was recorded in the last annual report that during the excessive floods of September 1900, this East African indigo came by no harm when all the Indian and American kinds were practically destroyed. It has now to be recorded that in 1901 the experimental plots were attacked by an insect blight which destroyed all save a few plants of every Asiatic and American *Indigofera* under cultivation without affecting in the least this East African species. Among other economic operations for the year it may be noted that the efforts to extend the cultivation of *Paspalum dilatatum* have been continued, and that the difficulties regarding its cultivation in Bengal have been successfully overcome. These difficulties have not yet been surmounted in other provinces, and the reports that have been received from correspondents are somewhat conflicting in Southern India; it is found that the drought-resisting qualities claimed for this grass in Australia have not been over-estimated, but in Western and Northern India it is stated that, though an excellent fodder grass, where irrigation is available, it is as a drought-resisting species distinctly inferior to some well-known native grasses. On behalf of the Department of Agriculture, Western Australia, arrangements have been made to introduce to that Colony the different varieties of Indian oranges.* The kinds known as Sylhet, from the Khasia Hills, Nagpur, from Central India, and Suntolah, from Nepal, have been successfully transmitted; the despatch of other kinds will be effected in due course.

The Report of the Burmah Ruby Mines for the year ended the 28th February shows a profit for the twelve months of £40,367, from which the percentage payable to the Government of India, amounting to £12,652, has to be deducted. This leaves a net profit of £27,715, which, added to £10.124 brought forward, makes a total balance of £37,839. The Directors recommend a dividend of 17½ per cent. free of tax, on the ordinary shares for the year, leaving a balance of £11,676 to be carried forward. During the year 1,158,494 trucks of ruby earth were washed at an average cost of 9·53*d.*, as compared with 947,444 trucks at 10·29*d.* in the previous year. These Ruby mines will soon be worked out.

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* First advocated by us. – ED.

During the year closed, mica, in common with many other articles, has suffered from the prevailing general depression in trade. Although at the close the outlook is more promising, any material improvement in values cannot be looked for until there is more active purchasing from the Stove, Chimney, and Electrical Trades. In Germany the commercial crisis has accentuated the depression in the Electrical Trades. As that country is one of the largest customers for Indian mica, this has slackened demand generally, especially as regards the larger-sized slabs. Whilst the European demand all round has been quiet, stocks of good useful sizes and qualities have been in short supply, and should enquiries continue to run on medium grades, and the larger remain neglected, it is not unlikely that values for the smaller sizes will go to a premium. Nature has, unfortunately, not arranged the mica crystals in convenient lots of graded sizes. Thus, taking Bengal mica at the present time, there is no incentive to either the European or the Native mine-owners to work their deposits to their full capacity. The grades at present mostly sought after are, perhaps, Nos. 3, 4 and 5, latter either in the form of slabs or splittings. To provide these grades means also the mining of the larger crystals and the accumulation of stocks of the very sizes for the sale of which the mines mainly depend for their profits. These remarks apply specially to Bengal, but also to Madras in a lesser degree.

A new use, however, has been found for mica besides those other numerous uses which already render it so valuable. Mr. Powell, draper and general importer, of Calcutta, has filed an application in respect of the following invention:—The application and use of mica in the construction and manufacture of hats, helmets, topees, bonnets, and other head-gear, tents, awnings, umbrellas, carriage hoods, the roofs of railway carriages and trucks, and other conveyances or vehicles, pads for the protection of the spine, shoulders or back of human beings or animals, jhools or blankets.

At the instance of the Royal Society, the Government of India are about to undertake a magnetic survey of India. The execution of the work is to be carried out jointly by the Survey of India and the Meteorological Departments. The earth is now recognised to be, amongst other things, a large magnet, having two poles and a neutral zone, and the magnetic surveys carried out by civilised governments supply data for the determination of the magnetic state of the earth. For some years back Sir Norman Lockyer has been carrying out an exhaustive inquiry into the connection between sunspots and Indian famines, and he has stated quite recently that he is fairly hopeful of results of practical importance and utility. However this may be, there is little doubt that sunspots are closely connected with the perturbations of the magnetic needle: whether the sunspots cause the movements of the needle, or whether both are due to some common cause is not yet known.

For a magnetic survey observations are taken all over the country at intervals of 30 miles: at every 500 miles there are "repeat" stations, at which the observations are repeated annually, and at every 1,200 miles (approximately) base stations are established, where daily magnetic observations are automatically recorded throughout the course of the survey. A magnetic observatory has existed at Bombay for many years, and a second has recently been built at Calcutta. These observatories were adopted as base stations for the survey, but as two were insufficient, magnetic observatories are now being constructed at Dehra Dun, at Kodaikanal, and at Rangoon.

In a magnetic survey there are three elements to be determined at each place, *viz.*, the declination, the dip, the intensity. A magnetic needle, as is well known, does not point truly north and south, and the angle which it makes with the meridian is called the "declination" by landsmen and the "variation" by sailors. As if two names were not sufficiently confusing, some writers have used the term "magnetic deviation." It is not generally known that a magnetic needle does not naturally lie horizontal: in ordinary compasses the needles are weighted at one end to counterbalance their tendency to dip, and to render them horizontal; but if an ordinary needle is left to itself and suspended on a horizontal axis, it will at once point downwards and incline itself to the horizonal at an angle of 45° in India and 65° in England: this inclination is called the "dip." The "intensity" is the strength with which the needle takes up its position of rest, the force with which it refuses to budge from that position; this force is less in some places than in others. The declination, the dip, and the intensity are all slowly varying, and it is for the investigation of these variations that "repeat" stations and base stations are included in a survey. In London at the present time the needle points 16° west of north. In 1815 it was pointing 24½° west of north: in 1657 the declination was nothing, and the needle pointed true north: in 1580 it was pointing 11° east: towards the end of the present century it will again be pointing true north. In India the declination at present is 3° and is varying slowly. In the same way as the declination is varying, so also are the dip and the intensity. In 1723 the dip in London was 75°: it is now 65°. The intensity in England is slowly decreasing

The magnetic survey of such a vast tract as India is naturally a large undertaking, but thanks to the many railways which now intersect the country in all directions and render it possible for the field detachments to move rapidly from one observing station to another, it is hoped that the field work of the preliminary magnetic survey will be completed in five years. It is satisfactory to find the Government of India taking their due share in carrying out the scientific work of the world.

Not the least interesting feature in connection with the magnetic survey which is to be undertaken in India, is the inter-dependence found to exist between magnetic tension and sunspots. A chart from Sir Norman Lockyer has reached the Meteorological Department in Simla, in which the record of the Bombay magnetic station is compared with the curve of sunspot frequency. The almost exact coincidence of the two is startling. More curious still, the magnetic record is found, in some cases, to anticipate the sunspot maxima, thereby raising the expectation of eventually foretelling the one from the other. A paper by Sir Norman Lockyer and Mr. W. J. S. Lockyer, in the Proceedings of the Royal Society, direct attention to a connection between solar changes of temperature, dependent upon sunspots, and variations in the rainfall of the Indian region. The present discovery is an indication of the possibilities connected with the study of the subject which is also of practical importance as concerning the local variation of the mariner's compass.

M. Taquin, in the *Revue Scientifique,* sets aside as inadequate the existing theories of volcanic action :—(1) That molten lava rises in the vent under an unusual pressure below like mercury in the tube of a barometer, and (2) that water finding its way to the underground molten lava generates steam, etc. He ascribes the heat molten rocks and eruptions of volcanoes to a local intensity of the "earth currents" of electricity which are known to exist. A volcano is a sort of electrical furnace or crucible, where heat is generated by the current, rocks fused or volatilised, and water decomposed into its constituent gases, oxygen and hydrogen, which are explosive. He goes so far as to call volcanoes "electric terminals at which some day man will draw the energy he requires to work his machines."

The causes of earthquakes are, however, various. Probably one of the most common of them is the dislocation of weak strata under the tidal strain produced on the earth's crust by lunar attraction, or a combination of lunar, planetary and solar attraction, then it follows that the value of one of the factors on which their occurrence depends can be estimated in advance with a near approach to accuracy. But, though the comparative force of the strain in question at a given place and time can be approximately determined beforehand, the other factor, *viz.*, the condition of the various parts of the earth's crust as regards stability at any moment, is one as to which we are almost wholly in the dark.

Volcanic action, electrical action, magnetism, sunspots, etc., etc., are all mingled up, and we see and feel the results outside in eruptions and earthquakes. The late Martinique eruption, which suddenly destroyed a whole town with 40,000 inhabitants, will not only characterise this century as one of the most awful visitations of the kind, but—along with shocks more or less severe and other appearances in the neighbourhood of the West Indies, through Europe and Persia,—probably the ramifications are not yet fully over,—shows to us that nature still pursues her course in regard to our globe, however retarded the processes may be, and however little permanent attention is drawn to them by its teeming millions of inhabitants. Holy writ says that one day "the elements shall melt with fervent heat," and even "the heavens shall pass away with a great noise." The late Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta used to say that the only thing that would come out unburnt from this last fire would be the Bible—"the Word of God."

A visitor to the Kasauli Institute, writing of his experiences in the *Madras Mail*, says :—The authorities there, while regretting the cauterisation of the wounds with nitric acid, gave me a tip which is very valuable and easy of adoption. Turpentine rubbed in well to the wounds immediately after a bite or within the next half hour, will instantly kill the rabies virus. Nitric acid and other caustics simply expend themselves on the tissues, causing nasty sloughing ulcers which take a long time to heal, and therefore they are condemned. So it behoves every one, especially in the summer months, to keep some turpentine always handy. It is very desirable for a patient proceeding to the Institute to take with him a portion of the brain of the dog suspected of being mad, preserved in glycerine in a glass stoppered bottle, well sealed and kept cool by ice, which is to be had all along the line. The brain substance is for Laboratory information. Taking it up in any other medium than glycerine will destroy the virus. Patients, on arrival at Kasauli, should lose no time in going to the Institute (which is open between 10 A.M. and 4 P.M.), for delays are dangerous. There are three well-marked stages of rabies in dogs :—The first stage is characterised by sullenness, fidgetiness and depression ; second stage, excitement and fury ; the third, general muscular weakness, actual paralysis and death.

The Pasteur Institute is supported by voluntary contributions which are thankfully received. They should be made payable to the Medical Officer in charge, Kasauli.

The wonders of chromopathy are probably yet to be discovered. We read that an atmosphere of blue light destroys the germs of lung disease, and every one has felt the different sensations when placed or standing in different coloured lights, as orange, red, brown, etc.

We have not done with leprosy yet. An adjourned meeting of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London was held, on the 10th instant, at the Society's rooms, Hanover Square, London, for the discussion of Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson's paper on "Leprosy." Dr. Clifford Allbutt presided. Dr. Hansen (Bergen), in opening the discussion, expressed the opinion that leprosy was entirely contagious. It was produced by the leprosy bacillus; and, in order to sustain the theory of Mr. Hutchinson that leprosy in Africa was produced by the eating of cured fish, they had to prove that the bacillus was to be found in the cured fish. That Mr. Hutchinson had been unable to demonstrate. The people in Norway were now eating more fish than ever, and yet leprosy was disappearing. In that country they segregated the lepers; and to that fact he ascribed the decrease in the number of cases of leprosy, which had fallen from 2,870 in 1856, to hardly 400 at the present time. Several Norwegian lepers had emigrated to America, and on examination it was found that their decendants were not leprous. That went some way to prove that leprosy was not hereditary, but simply contagious. Dr. Thin supported the contagion theory, and mentioned cases in its support. There were no recorded facts to show that leprosy had developed anywhere without the possibility of its having come from contagion. Evidence pointed to the fact that it originated in Africa, and it was possible that owing to the wide movement of the tribes it was carried south to Cape Colony. That would, therefore, account for what were known as the Stellenbosch cases. Dr. Manson regarded leprosy much as tuberculosis, only it was rather more difficult to communicate leprosy than tuberculosis. They could not cultivate the bacillus of either nor did they know the method of its entry. The spread of leprosy depended upon a multitude of opportunities. Sir Lauder Brunton and others joined in the discussion. In closing it Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson said he had great faith that in a short time the leprous bacillus would be found in fish. During the discussion all the speakers had slurred over the difficulties of the contagion theory. They could not inoculate leprosy, and it was often the case that man and wife, one a leper and the other not, lived together to the end of their days. In South Africa the facts against contagion were very strong indeed. Nineteen out of twenty of the lepers in South Africa would say that they have never seen a leper in their lives. Our own opinion is whether originating in bacilli or not, food, dirt, chimatic and soil conditions, and mental habitudes, as well as contagion, are exciting causes. India, as is well known, is severely afflicted with this disease, and in this connection we notice that one Iswar Singh, a native of Jullundur, has lately, in Bangalore, applied to Colonel Benson, I.M.S., for permission to treat lepers. He asserts that he possesses infallible cures for leprosy, which were known only to the old Rishis, and begs for the assistance of Government, should his cures prove effective. Colonel Benson has asked the man to visit the Leper Hospital. In 1859 we had for a friend and every-day companion Rajah Kurruck Singh, a State prisoner for life banished out of India, for having warred against us in defence of his country, the Punjab; and he told us of *Gunduk ka tel* or sulphur oil, being an infallible old cure in the Punjab. How the oil was extracted or made from sulphur he could not say. It is possible this Iswar Singh has the same specific. People also who remember India thirty years or forty years ago will recall the Native (? Parsi) Doctor an M.D., in the Western Presidency (? Poona) who kept his method secret, but who, it was asserted, had cured several cases. Let us hope that the light of science with sanitary and restrictive measures will yet come to eradicate this fearful and loathsome disease.

Until recently there was a special agency employed in Baroda for daily burning, for about an hour, fresh neem leaves for ten days in those houses in which deaths occurred, no matter from what cause, and also in the neighbouring houses. Plague preventive pills, each containing quinine grs. 2, ipeceacuanha gr. ¼ camphor ¼ and carbolic acid M. $\frac{1}{11}$ were also freely distributed. Both these measures are adopted in the infected places of the Baroda State, and the result is that a comparatively small number of people are attacked by the epidemic. In the Pharmacopœia of India it is mentioned that the bitter oil of the seeds of neem is reported by Dr. A. Hunter to be an insecticide. It is well-known that the dense smoke of fresh neem leaves destroys mosquitoes, and this is often resorted to in stables and cattle sheds. From what has been stated above, it may be inferred that the leaves probably contain some substance which destroys insects and germs. In Bombay, infected houses are fumigated with sulphur. During the first epidemic of plague it was burnt in streets also, with what result is well-known. Neem fumigation in villages costs almost nothing. In towns its cost is insignificant. Further, people take to it kindly.

We trust to have space in our next issue to furnish some passages from an excellent lecture lately delivered in Calcutta to the Y. M. C. A. by Mr. Harold Mann on "Germs and Bacteria," as well as from Dr. Metchnikoff's "Wilde Lecture" on "Microbes and the Human Body" delivered at Manchester. Also some notes on the late Malaria Commission.

In the February number of the *Monthly Cyclopædia of Practical Medicine* Professor Demms, of Stutgart, Germany, gives the following record of the results of his observations of ten families of drinkers (not exactly drunkards) and ten families who are abstainers, for a period of twelve years. The ten drinking families produced in these twelve years fifty-seven children. Of these twenty-five died in the first week of life, of weakness, convulsive attacks, or of œdema of the brain and its membranes. Six of the children were idiots; five were stunted in size and were of dwarfish growth; one, a boy, had grave chorea, ending in idiocy; five had inherited diseases and deformities, such as chorea, hydrocephalus, hare-lip and club-foot. Two of the epileptics mentioned became, by inheritance, drinkers. Only ten of these fifty-five or 17·5 per cent., showed during youth vigour of body and mind. The ten temperate families produced in twelve years sixty-one children. Of these five died in early infancy of weakness; in later years of childhood, four had curable nervous affections; two only showed inherited nervous defects. The remaining fifty, or fully 81 per cent., were normal in every way, developing well in body and mind.

A medical correspondent calls the attention of readers of the *New York Herald* to a new medicine, which is destined to play an important part in medical treatment, and which is as yet known only to a few of the initiated. But its future is certain, it is destined to create a revolution in surgery, as well as in medicine. This medicine is adrenaline; like cocaine, it marks a new epoch in the art of healing. In the present day, it is mere child's play to suspend sensation in certain parts of the body. Ever since 1883 cocaine, which has revolutionized surgery and created rhinology, has effected this. It is well-known that by daubing it upon an absorbent surface such as the mucous membrane, the nose, for example, the membrane becomes pink and weakens without any unpleasant sensation, and that at the same time sensitiveness to pain decreases until it disappears entirely. Ten or twelve minutes after the cocaine has begun to act, a galvanocautery can be introduced into the nose, which usually cannot bear the slightest tickling, and all kinds of operations may be practised without the patient feeling the slightest pain. Now, if such a mucous surface is daubed with a very weak solution of adrenaline, no impression, good or bad, is felt, but the mucous membrane whitens almost immediately, and retracts to such an extent that it seems almost to disappear. Within five minutes the septum can be cut into and the turbinate bone scraped without any blood flowing from the nose; whereas, before, a sudden introduction of the finger into it would have sufficed to cause bleeding. And, inasmuch as adrenaline takes the place of cocaine, a surgeon may operate for half an hour or more without being in the slightest degree impeded by hæmorrhage. Every part becomes white, as though the operation was being performed on a dead body. As it is, quite a series of small operations may be performed with the aid of cocaine. Lupus of the pituitary membrane may be scraped away, without requiring any other linen than the patient's handkerchief; for the lower turbinate bone may be removed—an excellent operation, but which has hitherto been rarely performed because of the abundant hæmorrhage which it would be sure to cause. Is not this property which adrenaline possesses of temporarily suspending the circulation in the parts which it touches, a really remarkable one; and does it justify the persistency with which the attention of surgeons is directed to this new product?

Whereas cocaine is allied with the vegetable kingdom, being an alkaline product extracted from coca leaves, adrenaline is a product of the animal Kingdom, it is the active principle of super-renal capsules. Just as before the discovery of cocaine the anæsthetic properties of tincture of coca were vaunted for some years past, the hæmostatic power of the extract of super-renal capsules has been proclaimed, but without carrying complete conviction. The fact is that the active principles of both these products were too diluted. One can imagine the infinitesimal quantity of adrenaline contained in a super-renal capsule when one learns on the one hand that a few drops of it in solution as two or three thousandths suffice for an operation on a small space, and on the other hand that the price of one kilogramme of the active principle is about 200,000fr. at the present moment—a proof that it takes a drove of oxen to produce enough of it to fill a small phial.

Takamine of New York was the first to separate adrenaline in a basic crystaline form in 1901. Here as regards its essential parts is his mode of preparation. The super-renal capsules are first completely disintegrated, and then plunged for five hours in water at a temperature varying from 50deg. to 80deg. Cent. The heat of the mixture is next increased to 90deg. and 95deg. for an hour in order to cause a coagulation of the albuminoid bodies, a layer of oil having first been poured on the surface.

of the liquid in order to avoid a too rapid evaporation and above all oxydization by the air. The liquid part containing the active principle is separated by pressure, and the residuum is again put into hot water, slightly tinctured with hydrochloric or acetic acid so as to dissolve what adrenaline is left. To the solutions collected are added two or three times their weight of strong alcohol, in order to precipitate the inorganic matter and the inert organic matter. After being filtered the alcoholic solution is evaporated until all the alcohol used has been recovered, and on adding to the residual liquid ammonia until the solution is purely alkaline, a yellow precipitate of pure adrenaline in a basic form is seen. The precipitate is then filtered, washed and dried Adrenaline when cleansed of the coloring matter with which it is mixed, forms a mass of sharp pointed white crystals with a slightly bitter taste. By dissolving it in a physiological solution of chloride of sodium added to 0·5 per cent. of chloretone, a fixed liquor is obtained, which will keep a long time, even in partially empty phials. Be it remarked, by the way, chloretone in doses of 0·40 gr. to 1 gramme is given with success to cure insomnia in the case of old men and sufferers from heart disease.

Of all the medicines that produce contraction of the blood-vessels adrenaline is the most vigorous known. An intravenous injection of this product produces a powerful action on the nervous system, especially on the muscular walls of the vessels. The result is an increase of blood pressure which may prove enormous. Three injections of lc. c. of a solution of chloride of adrenaline administered to a dog weighing eight kilogrammes, increased the blood pressure to an extent equivalent to 30mm. of mercury. Adrenaline is not only a powerful agent in stopping the flow of blood, acting within two or three minutes of its application to the mucuous membrane, the action of which according to Reynolds (of Louisville), may continue for twenty minutes to four hours; it relieves ciliary pain in all forms of keratitis (inflammation of the cornea), iritis and even glaucoma, in which it reduces the tension of the eye, thus preventing hæmorrhage in iridectomy. The opacity of the cornea after a blow is promptly cleared away by adrenaline, which appears to favourably affect the opacity due to keratitis when punctured in the case of syphilitic iritis It causes no trouble to the cornean epithelium, in no way affects the opening of the pupil or its receptive power. In cases of congestion of the conjunctive of the eye, it has been found to have a calming effect on the subjective symptoms—feeling of burning and of foreign bodies. At the same time there is a diminution of the lachrymal secretion.

The quieting action is explained by the presence of the chloretone in the solution used and by the decongestive action of the adrenaline. As an analgesic in conjunctive and superficial inflammation of the cornea, it is preferable to cocaine, because it does not interfere with the vitality of the tissues. In any case, when used in conjunction with cocaine, adrenaline produces more complete anæthesia for operations Adrenaline may reduce the swelling of the lachrymal ducts, and enable a current of fluid to be passed through them without using a sound. Singing in the ears is quickly and completely relieved by the introduction of one drop of the solution of adrenaline into the Eustachian tube. In bleeding of the nose it is not of very great use, as it is rapidly carried away by the flow of blood. But in acute cold in the head it is unrivalled when immediate, though temporary, relief is required. Its effect is the same in the treatment of hay fever. Adrenaline may also be used with great success in laryngitis, pharyngitis, and amygdalitis. From the foregoing facts it may be seen that adrenaline is destined to join forces with cocaine. Their simultaneous use cannot fail to become general from day to day, inasmuch as, thanks to their respective properties, surgeons will no longer have to reckon either with pain or hæmorrhage. Let me add that adrenaline is a medicine which must be used with the greatest prudence, for its enormous constrictive power upon the blood-vessels is such that its use may be followed by secondary congestion capable in itself of causing hæmorrhage.

THE BISHOPS, RELIGION, &c.

The fearless Bishop of Bombay, who at present is unhappily suffering from a feverish attack,—an overseeing "shepherd" who can round up his own clergy as we showed last year from his 'charge" and is not afraid to tell the truth to even occupants of high places in India—at a meeting in connection with Missionary work gave an address, in the course of which he said that it was unfortunately the case that a great majority of European Christians took no active or efficient interest in the work of the Missions at all. Not more than one in thirty or forty would be able to say what Missionary institutions existed in connection with the Church, though they were members of the Church. The remainder were altogether ignorant and unconcerned. This was a great blot on the Church; also on the life and work of the British race in India, for which no educational or social beneficence could ever atone, for they could not conceal the fact that there was a sentiment adverse to the work of the Missions running through the European communities in this country. It was quite impossible that any Indian could believe that Christianity had a strong hold on the

Europeans in India, considering their practical neglect of it, their forsaking of worship, and their shameful desecration in many cases of the Lord's Day. His Lordship thought the first work of their union might be to make strenuous efforts to improve the habits of the Christians. There was little use in attempting an aggressive work as long as the practice of Christian Society continued to be what it was.

A *native* paper commenting on the above, writes :—

> "The Bishop of Bombay had a message to deliver at Poona yesterday (the 28th instant) and, in that admirable and fearless spirit with which he approaches most questions he said what he had to say quietly and firmly and unmistakably. His speech will be found in another column, and if most Christians desire to retain their peace of mind they had better not read it. The ostensible object of the meeting at Poona was to devise means of pressing Missionary work amongst the people of this land, but His Lordship improved the occasion by demonstrating the necessity of showing some concern for the case of the Christian himself, who is distinctly backsliding. We believe His Lordship scarcely desired to travel outside the bounds of that section of the Christian community of which he is the local spiritual head. He takes their case, examines it, and without circumlocution, pronounces it bad. And, looked on from His Lordship's point of view, there can be no denying it. There is an absence of effort in proselytising, which the Bishop of Bombay considers bad enough, for the great ethical and philanthropic claims of the religion, apart from its spiritual worth, make it a magnificent field for workers. But worse remains behind. Allied to this flacid spiritual conditiou there is a growing disregard for outward observance. His Lordship is undoubtedly somewhere near the truth when he declares it is quite impossible for any Indian to believe that Christianity has a stronghold on Europeans in India considering their practical neglect of it, their forsaking of worship, their shameful desecration in many cases of the Lord's Day."

Could, we ask, a professedly Christian paper have said better ? The Bishop, thus, is confirmed by even the heathen, who are more observant than we often give them credit for being. The Bishop, however, knows—what the heathen may not know—that the visible body of Christians—even if included in the " Church "—are not all Christians. Baptised and born to a royal and even divine heritage, they grovel in the mire of worldliness, animal propensities and doubt—one in fact, as unconverted as the heathen. But the Church ought to be a light in the darkness, a city set on a hill that cannot be hid, a refuge for weary, hungry and perishing souls to flee to. Is it so—at least in India ? Does a chaplain and his services (!) attract any attention in a native city—let us say, even in a European town in India? The blame is not altogether to be thrown on the poor " sheep in the wilderness " or wandering far and wide on the trackless mountains. We require the clergy of Christ to rouse up to their privileges and high calling, take the lead, and in unworldliness and devotion, unite the scattered members of their flock into a living whole—a Church of Faith and Love. In India, however, we remember how men in high position, in the past, used to invite prominent young students, and other natives of good family, to their houses, and into their social circle, and by kindly intercourse set them a practical example of Christianity. Many of these, thus influenced, afterwards embraced Christianity. Such kindly and generous work is probably never seen now-a-days. But it was not the work of the "Church" as understood now. Even in the Church Collectivism may be good, but there must be the other side of Individualism, else the growth is partial, defective, abnormal, and tending to abuse. The "education" fallacy is now ruling Christian Missions in India, and unless this is given up, and every Christian Missionary (and clergyman) becomes a living centre of the love and devotion of Christ, setting forth "His unsearchable riches," and calling in the hungry, the falling, and the perishing, there will be visible what we see—a cold regard, hardly veiled from contempt, for a faith that is not preached, and for "professors" of that faith.

The opening of a Christian Hall on the model of Y. M. C. A. in the heart of native Calcutta has led to conversions among the higher middle classes, and the native leaders have been thereby stimulated to energetic efforts to organise similar institutions for native youths. The Hindus have established a society for young men which holds regular weekly classes for religious and moral training and general training. A rule has been introduced for awarding prizes and certificates to students who are most regular in their attendance. It is evident that educated Hindus do not mean to sleep over Christian endeavours for proselytisation among their community.

We wish we could reproduce an excellent opening address by Mr. F. H. Hamnett at the Annual Missionary Conference of the South Indian Missionary Association, but our space prevents. He shows how modern thought is coming back to the conclusion, that the instinct in man—"the heart"—or as Keble terms it in his *Christian Year* "Love"—is even greater than reason or "science." His concluding words were: The school of scientific philosophy is now beginning to see the possibility of a revelation of God through the heart, which is not inconsistent with but greater than any revelation possible through the head. Many who were formerly in doubt now seem ready to join hands with those who have never doubted revealed religion to join not in the faith of a new religion but in that of the old one expressed in the language of modern thought. Both sets of minds may agree in holding the late Poet Laureate's words:—

> "Strong Son of God, immortal Love,
> Whom we, that have not seen Thy face,
> By faith, and faith alone, embrace,
> Believing where we cannot prove."

Both too can follow the same poet in the grand passage on the life and teaching of Christ which begins:—

"Tho' truths in manhood darkly join,
Deep-seated in our mystic frame,
We yield all blessing to the Name.
Of Him that made them current coin."

A Conference for Bible study and discussion in practical methods of work will be held at Mussoorie from September 17th to 25th. The following programme of practical and devotional subjects will be dealt with :—(1) Village Missions and Village Churches; (2) Theosophy; (3) Quadiani; (4) the Sabbath; (5) The Constitution and Development of the Christian Church as found in the Acts and Epistles; (6) the Importance, Place and Method of Religious Controversy; (7) How to secure Voluntary Workers for Evangelising India; (8) The Pastorate in the Early Church as a solution of the question of self-support in the Indian Church; (9) Vernacular Christian Literature—the Need and Supply; (10) "Crucified with Christ;" (11) "Risen with Christ;" (12) "the Second Coming of Christ;" (13) The Holy Spirit; (14) Bible study for Personal Growth; (15) Prayer; (16) The Value of Habit in Personal Christian Life. There will be centres for Bible study in Mussoorie and Landour. Particulars as to time and place will be given later. The following speakers amongst others will, it is hoped, take part in the Conference :—Revs. Dr. Wherry, Hooper, R. McCheyne Paterson, Dr. Griswold, Dr. Lucas, Dr. Weitbrecht, Dr. R. Stewart, Dr. J. E. Robinson, Dr. Scot, Messrs. P. M. Buck, I. W. Charlton, A. H. Ewing, E. H. M. Waller, R. Clancy, D. Jones, W. G. Proctor, J. Campbell White, Miss Hewlett, &c. As regards railway concessions, ministers and missionaries in parties of not less than four can obtain concessions of 1st class for 2nd class fare, and 2nd class for intermediate fare on E. I. R. and N. W. R. on making application to the respective District Traffic Superintendents. The O. R. R. will make the same concession if all individuals and parties, provided that a certificate is obtained from the Rev. W. G. Proctor, Honorary Secretary of Conference, to present with application to the District Traffic Superintendent.

The present system of education from which religion is excluded, as well as the official State system, are both being protested against by institutions like the Benares Central Hindu College, and partially by the Aligurh College. But the example is becoming contagious We read that a higher class English school has been started at Khulna in Lower Bengal on the model of the Central Hindu College at Benares. The promoters are rich Hindu land-owners, resolved to maintain the institution even at pecuniary sacrifice. Thus, Hindus are coming forward to teach a Christian government a lesson, and also to confirm Sir Rowland Wilson's views as shown in our last and as further shown below (in the next section).

Sir William Mackworth Young, the late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, appears also to be labouring under the fallacy that Missionary Educational Colleges are preaching Christ's salvation to dying men. At the annual meeting of the C. M. S. at Exeter Hall, he said "that India had been placed under England's dominion that she might receive from us the light of Christianity. He was proud of the service to which he belonged, believing that no country or Government had been better served than India in every department of the administration but he would take off his hat to the humblest Missionary in the Bazar. He most gratefully appreciated the services of the Missionaries in the cause of higher education. The system of treasury grants-in-aid to mission schools, was the best plan for India. The policy of the State was to withdraw from higher education so far as was compatible with maintaining a certain standard, and Missionary institutions made this possible." What a defence—a defence that is itself a condemnation! Even *New India*, a very ably-conducted, but irreligious, Bengali paper lately started, writes on a late suggestion thrown out by the Hon'ble D. M. Smeaton:—

"Mr. Smeaton thinks, the Bible be similarly placed within easy reach of the people,—be in short, introduced in the public schools and colleges as an absolutely optional subject. There can be no objection to this being done, if only the expenses of the arrangements are not paid out of the taxes paid by a non-Christian population. But after all, in the interests of Christianity itself, Mr. Smeaton's proposal should not be adopted. In India the general want of regard for the Christian faith, among the students of our Missionary colleges, is almost wholly due to the teaching of the Bible in the class-room." So much for our Missionary colleges being Christian agencies, when the heathens themselves laugh at the idea.

The following is a short summary of the results reached by the Conference on absolution and confession as given in the Chairman's report to the Bishop of London:—

"With respect to the first subject, the members were agreed that our LORD'S words in St. John's Gospel, 'Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whosesoever sins ye retain they are retained,' are not to be regarded as addressed only to the Apostles or the clergy, but as a commission to the whole Church.

"But the members of the Conference are agreed that the discipline of private confession and absolution cannot be shown to have existed for some centuries after the foundation of the Church.

"In view of the meaning which the Conference agreed was to be assigned to the words of our LORD in St. John, the formula of ordination in our Ordinal could not be regarded as in itself inculcating the duty of private confession and absolution.

"It was agreed that our other formularies permitted such confession and absolution in certain circumstances, but the Conference were not agreed as to the extent to which they encouraged it.

"On the practical question there was a deep divergence of opinion in the Conference, some members holding that the practice of confession and absolution ought to be encouraged, as of great value for the spiritual and moral life of men and women, while others were deeply convinced that its general encouragement was most undesirable, that it should be treated as entirely exceptional, and that the highest form of Christian life and faith would dispense with it and discourage it."

Upon the motion of the Lord Chancellor, the London Diocesan Conference passed a resolution declaring that the question of Sunday Observance deserves immediate and serious attention of Churchmen. The House of Laymen unanimously passed a resolution viewing with regret and alarm the increasing disposition to pervert Sunday from being a day of Christian worship and wholesome rest to one of mere pleasure seeking and trade.

A journal has a paper showing the causes for divorce in various countries:—

In Germany, insuperable aversion, hopeless insanity, or malignant inconsistency, or quarrelsomeness, or a disorderly mode of life, or drunkenness, or extravagance. In Sweden, hatred, ill-will, prodigality, drunkenness, or a violent temper. Among the Protestants of Austria violent dislike. In Switzerland, marriage relations greatly strained. In the United States of America adultery is a cause in forty-six States; desertion in forty-four States; disappearance in forty-two; cruelty or fear of violence in forty; imprisonment in thirty-eight; drunkenness, intemperance, or habitual intoxication in thirty-seven; impotency in thirty-six; failure to provide in twenty-one; sin before marriage in thirteen; indignities in seven; insanity in five; joining the sect of Mother Lee in three; when divorce has been obtained in another State in three; living apart in two; gross neglect of duty in two; guilty of being a vagrant in two; refusal of wife to move into a State in one; turning a wife out of doors in one; habitual violent temper in one; public defamation in one; any other cause deemed sufficient by the courts in one.

Eighty per cent. of the divorce suits in America are brought by women, who may be constitutionally inclined to excesses of individualism and the craving for novelty. In Australia, too, the causes for divorce are many and various, and none of them but just. They were placed on the statute book after many years of hard contest by Sir Alfred Stephen, Chief Justice of New South Wales and Lieutenant-Governor, with the clerical party who were oblivious to facts of horrible and wholesale immorality, of the fearful amount of unrelieved misery, and that the circumstances and national characters of countries varied. Also that ideals are not practice, though practice may be made to approximate and conform to ideals. While the Christian idea has everything to be said in its favour as the true ideal, the Persian custom of a six-months' (renewable) contract has most to be said for it from an ordinary common-sense and practical view of the matter. We are afraid that neither the centenarian Pope, nor the Bishop of Madras, could decide between these, or make a universal rule.

In a case which a Jesuit priest brought against the *Record* Church paper, and for which he got £300 damages, Mr. Justice Wills, in summing up, said that, unfortunately, when the subject of discussion was connected with anything like religious controversy, generally speaking, the spirit which should be the spirit of religion disappeared. The tone of the article complained of was a signal illustration of that. While the country had been rejoicing over the declaration of peace, he had been engaged in trying an action from which all evidence of peace and charity had been banished.

The Indian Princes who went home for the Coronation, must have been struck with the numerous and striking evidences of England's deeply religious spirit (as contrasted with what is seen out in the East), and we wonder what their reflections must have been as to "Israel's GOD" when attending several of the official services, or when they heard the Archbishop of Canterbury, when handing the "orb" to the King, saying, "When you see this orb set under the cross, remember that the whole world is subject to the power and empire of Christ our Redeemer." We wonder also if anything will result from young Tagore's visit to the Pope, as the Tagores have for generations been inclined to fly away from the orthodox Hindu faith. What a rich "catch" this Tagore, the heir of his "orthodox" father, would be to the Roman Catholic body in Bengal! We trust the "Oxford Mission" party will make an effort to seize his soul, before it is carried off by the Jesuits with their "indulgences," their plausibilities and—purgatory and purgatorial Masses.

It is possible that Canon Gore's consecration as a "Bishop" has wakened him to new realities in the Divine life which he did not quite realise before. In a sermon preached lately in Birmingham he spoke of the saving grace of Christ, and the marks and evidences of the Spirit. It meant life, desire, aspiration, movement. There was, he insisted, a gradual deterioration of character, which was increasing. People talked vaguely and emptily about development and evolution, but he said, "look to fact and history and you will see that side by side with the reality of progress there is the reality of deterioration in race, nation, class, and in individuals. His lordship emphasized that there was no spiritual life which was for oneself alone. The working of the Spirit in us meant that we became more like Christ, which almost invariably meant a growing and deepening sense of fellowship with others. All false standards which separated men from men were cast down in His presence. God revealed himself in fellowship; the life of Christ, the life of the Spirit, was perpetuated not in a private religion, but in the unity—a brotherhood, a church, a society. This was the essence—that the middle wall of partition which separated men from men was bridged over and the gulf spanned. The essence of the Church was indeed to show the capacity of all men for human fellowship.

That we were right in supposing that Canon Gore owed his selection to a kindred shallow—as regards Christian faith and doctrine—spirit, Mr. A. J. Balfour, we have now supplied us the completest evidence in what the latter said to a deputation of Free Churchmen who waited upon Mr. Balfour yesterday to protest against the Education Bill. Mr. Balfour, in course of his reply, thought the old controversies about existing formulas really represented, to a large extent, controversies which were dead battlefields, which had become only of historic interest, and that there were arising new religious problems due to the growth of science, criticism, and knowledge, which would require all the skill, learning, and charity of all the churches adequately to combat. To this we can only say, "indeed"!—"Prodigious"!

A telegram announces the resignation, on the ground of ill-health, of the Bishop of Auckland (Primate of New Zealand) Dr. Cowie, who was ordained Deacon in 1854 and priest in 1855, was consecrated to the See of Auckland in 1869 and was elected Primate in 1895. He had been a Chaplain in India. Among our Chaplains and Missionaries who have become Bishops we may enumerate the following:—Corrie and Dealtry, both Archdeacons under Bishop Daniel Wilson, appointed to Madras in succession; Dr. French of the C. M. S., Agra, to Lahore; also Archdeacon Mathew and Dr. Lefroy of the Cambridge-Delhi Mission to the same diocese; Whitby of the old S.P.G. Delhi Mission to Chota Nagpore; Caldwell and Hodges of the C. M. S. to Tinnevelly and Travancore—[we really think the Tinnevelly Bishop ought to be a native]; Clifford of the C. M. S. to Lucknow; Whitehead of the S. P. G. Mission, Calcutta, to Madras; Popham-Blyth, a Chaplain, to Jerusalem; and Stuart, the old C. M. S. Secretary in Calcutta, to Waiapu in New Zealand. In Borneo and Australia, too, there have been Macdougall, "the fighting Bishop," Chalmers, Plumer and Barlow selected from Missionaries or the local clergy. With the exception of Corrie, Dealtry, Caldwell, Macdougall, French and Chalmers, they are all alive at the present. Bishops Stuart (labouring now, we believe, in Persia) and Whitby—our friends of "the olden time"—we, however, knew most of the above—being among the "ancients" in the field. Dr. French died at Muscat, where he was working for the Arabs.

In one of those pretentious leaders, "Men and Missions," on religion and religious matters—perpetrated in India we may say, only by the *Pioneer*—(which we have now become accustomed to see, to our surprise, in a secular daily newspaper), we find not only several ordinary errors, and the usual attempt to again misunderstand the Christian position of the late Bishop of Calcutta, and to correct him (!), but a statement as to the Christianity of our old intimate personal friend's writings of the Christian Bengali poet Michael Madhu Sudan Dutta, which is quite inaccurate, and as doing injustice to his memory and misunderstanding his works, we notice it in especial. The *Pioneer* says:—"Take a greater name in Bengali literature, the epic poet and dramatist Madhu Sudan Dutta. Here we have a Christian married by Christian rites to an European lady, a man who spent five years in Europe, and was called to the English Bar. Competent critics have exhausted the language of eulogy in praising the rich imagery, the copious and varied vocabulary, the unfailing invention of the greatest of modern Bengali poets. Not one, we believe, of his many and various works shows the faintest tinge of Christian influence. Drama and epics alike are all pure Hindu, the finest of them, the famous *Megnadh-Bodh Kavya*, being a spirited episode from the *Ramayana*." We may speak with authority in this matter, as we put the direct question to him one day why he did not do more direct Christian work? He replied:—"I am a Missionary for Christ. I am imbuing Bengali literature with the Christian spirit of Dante, Milton and Spenser. I set forth in my poems the highest sentiments and ideals of character, and these will lead and form the nation to Christianity. You alone stuck to me as a friend when I was persecuted by so-called Christians—even by my brother converts—and you will not misunderstand me and my position either way—Christian or national Bengali, and from your being a kindred spirit and knowing my inner life and thoughts so well, and your other qualifications in regard to poetry and languages, I ask you to undertake the rendering of *Megnadh-Bodh* into English. I know you will do justice to its spirit, as well as language, and be able to present it as even an original in English."

We hope some day to furnish a few notes on his life among our "Eminent Natives of India" series. Last year an eminent French Dominican and Orientalist, residing at Jerusalem Father Lagrange, maintained in the *Dominican Review* that the story of paradise and of Eve and the apple should be regarded not as a reality, but simply as a symbol or legend. The Jesuits tried hard to secure the Pope's condemnation of this opinion, but failed to do so. In fact it was intimated to Father Lagrange that he was free to hold the opinion he had expressed, and that he would have the protection of the Vatican. This account of the Garden of Eden has stood in the way of some, and been conveniently relegated to the position of a myth. We don't believe Moses dealt in "myths." His whole history and career shows him to have been particularly practical and matter of fact. Nor would he have begun "the Law" based on JEHOVAH, with an unfounded "myth." We living in the present UNCRITICAL—we repeat it, shallow and uncritical age which has lost the canons of true criticism—age can no more judge of that first step in man's spiritual evolution to be completed as the full "Sons of GOD," than of even our grand-parents' time;—so entirely different and beyond our experience. The simple apple "as a moral test of obedience," was just what the circumstances and position required. By passing it, a step higher, upward and firmer, would have been gained by the newly-created Adam. The simple but true test of obedience was not passed. Hence there followed other severer steps as toil, &c., accompanied by greater helps. We find this exemplified even to the present day among ourselves in both our physical—and even secular—and our spiritual life. To make the Garden of Eden and its Trial a fiction shows an utter inability to either perceive the circumstances of the period, or to realise the moral and spiritual aspect of man made in "the Image of GOD," and to inherit GOD'S kingdom. We may proceed to add here, what is also set forth in the Pentateuch, that for moral disobedience and sin and the consequences, the Expiator was set forth—the "Tree of Life"—and His work and history fixed, delineated forever, by "angels" in the "flaming lights" of the constellations of the Zodiac so as to "keep" the knowledge and make all look forward to the great event. Thence came the old "Desire of Nations" and the "Wise Men of the East." We may add that all this has no reference to the *Cabbala*, or aught save just and true criticism; a correct rendering of certain Hebrew words very dubiously rendered in the English version; and historical facts.

EDUCATION.

The Report of the Universities' Commission has been published, and it agrees in all the main features, as we shall see below, exactly with what we showed were the defects of the present system. Of course, our other contention that all education should be left to the country itself is not taken up. That our present official education, such as it is, is partial and incomplete, not affecting either the mass or the national life, and without religion unable to do so; and hence ineffective; nay, that it is positively mischievous as displacing the true view of education and raising up place-hunters and disaffected classes; are incontestable. But as we referred in our last to Sir Rowland Wilson, Bart., as showing even other grounds for giving over our puny and puerile and evil efforts to mop up the Atlantic, we add here some few lines he has subsequently written to the *Madras Mail* on the same subject:—

"I am particularly pleased with the epithet 'doctrinaire,' because I have observed that it is most commonly applied to writers whose logic is felt to be unanswerable, but whose conclusions happen to conflict with some powerful interest. And you will perhaps admit on reflection that in one sentence at all events your own logic is just a trifle defective. 'In India (you say) a country where individualism is unknown, where men have always looked to the State, where voluntary association for public objects is rare and feeble, *where men have little money to contribute for such purposes*, is the State to be debarred from supplementing private effort?' What resources has the State except what it takes forcibly from the very men who have so little to spare? Are we to understand that the poverty of the tax-payer is an additional reason for 'taking from him that which he hath?'

"The first part of the same sentence raises a question of fact rather than of logic. The statement that in India men have always looked to the State for the promotion of education is flatly contradicted by the late Sir William Hunter, who tells us that 'at no period of its history has India been without some system of popular education, independent of State organisation and control.' How otherwise indeed could Hinduism have maintained its hold over the people during the many centuries of Mahomedan rule? Nor were the Mahomedans themselves ever without an abundant supply of *maktabs* and *madrassas*, no more dependent on the ruler for the time being than they might be on any other munificent patron. In 1838, when the Government was beginning to take stock of the State indigenous education, it was estimated that in Bengal and Behar about 7·8 per cent. of the children of school age were being taught at school, and over 5·2 per cent. at Home, giving a total percentage of 13, as against about 9 per cent. attending public or private institutions at the present day. I am not now concerned with the quality of the instruction, but only with the willingness of the people to pay voluntarily for such schooling as, for the time being, they happen to believe in; and combining with this evidence your statement as to the 'failure of all [modern] attempts to stir Hindus and Mahomedans into educational activity, the natural inference is that the decline of voluntary zeal is due to the increased activity of the State; it is precisely what our English experience would lead us to expect.

"My ignorance of modern India is supposed to be proved by the fact (?) that the Brahmo Somaj is now losing ground. As it happens, I neither said nor implied anything to the contrary, nor would it have at all helped my argument to do so. I merely said that 'personally I should expect and welcome a great increase of activity on the part of the Brahmo Somaj and kindred bodies' [in the event of State aid to education being withdrawn], which implied, if anything, that their activity had rather waned as that of the State increased; and the example I gave of remarkable educational success achieved even under present conditions without any State aid whatever was that of the Anglo-Vedic College connected with the Arya Somaj, a 'kindred body' of more conservative type. Having, however, watched with special interest the recent doings of the Brahmo Somaj, with which the English religious body to which I belong keeps closely in touch, I take leave to doubt whether your own information is quite up to date. If you are relying on the Census statistics, you are on very unsafe ground indeed; the Government enumerators having followed a method of classification which is correct for legal, but senseless for religious purposes. Cordially agreeing with you that 'in the spread of education lies very largely the hope of India's progress,' I have only the misfortune to differ as to the best means of diffusing it. My views are doubtless old fashioned—so old that, according to the usual cycle in fashions, it should be about time for them to come up again as new. I prefer, however, to imagine that I am addressing readers with whom the question is, not whether an idea is fashionable, but whether it is true.

Old things need not be therefore true,
O brother man ; nor yet the new."

As regards the Universities' Commission Report, we need hardly say it is a thorough and masterly production, and enters into almost every detail, as well as keeps to the main points we had before indicated, *viz.*, stiffening the examinations (though not to the degree we should rightly have) ; raising the fees ; recognising vernacular and Oriental scholarship ; and the means of higher education ; but it strangely omits female as well as European education ! We are pleased to quote here what is now said by a very intelligent organ of public opinion in North India, and it only now remains for the Viceroy to hasten and render efficient all the reforms indicated, as well as supplement a measure for female and European education :—

"When Government looked into the results of their system, they found that the education of the people was neglected for the education of a class who might fairly be expected to educate themselves, since a livelihood was the result of their studies. In Bengal rupees twenty-five lakhs were spent on general education in 1901 as against rupees two lakhs on primary education. In only five districts of Bengal were over forty per cent. of the boys being educated, while over a great part of the Province the figures stood at under fifteen per cent. So, in all India, College education was built on the most rotten of foundations, and the State, instead of teaching the masses to read and write, were teaching the classes to earn their own livelihood at the expense of the people. With all the attention that was paid to higher education, the results were contemptible. According to the Principal of Allahabad University, what would be called higher education at Home does not exist in the United Provinces. To sum up, the object, conscious or unconscious, of the predominating educational forces in this country was the passing of certain examinations at as low a standard as possible so as to fit the students for occupations that did not call into use any of the higher subjects of study in which they had passed."

There is a diminution in the figures for 1900 under the head of education. In 1900 there were 3,988,663 males and 429,645 females receiving instruction, as compared with 4,037,821 males and 425,914 females in 1899. The decline in male students was chiefly in Bengal, where there was a falling away of over 45,000 boys and 4,000 girls. This decrease is stated to be due to temporary causes, plague, floods, and agricultural depression. Most of the scholars are taught in public institutions, of which 100,425 are managed by Government, 956,535 by Local Board Funds and Municipalities and 157,784 by Native States ; 2,097,971 are aided by Government or by Local Fund Boards and Municipalities, and only 497,634 are quite unaided.

As regards University education 16,421 students were attending English Art Colleges, and 548 Oriental Art Colleges, there were 2,562 Law students, 1,301 studying Medicine, 833 Engineering, 98 Teaching, and 57 Agriculture. Besides 250,389 are attending high schools, 179,465 middle English schools, and 159,573 middle vernacular schools. The number of University graduates, during the year, was 1,380 in Arts, 406 in Law, 9 in Medicines, 16 in Engineering, and 4 in Oriental Languages and Literature. In Bengal the ratio of the school-going population to the total population was 2·1 per cent.; in Madras the ratio was 2·2 per cent., in Bombay 2·5 per cent., in the North-West Provinces and Oudh 9 per cent., in Burma 2·9 per cent., in the Punjab 1·2 per cent., in the Central Provinces 1·1 per cent., in Assam 1·8 per cent., and in Berar 1·7 per cent. Attending schools there were 31,328 Europeans and Eurasians, 127,036 Native Christians, 2,950,17[illegible] Hindus, 946,986 Mohamedans, and 362,787 miscellaneous. As regards expenditure, the figures continue to increase. The direct expenditure on colleges and schools was Rs. 2,96,72,314.

The number of registered presses has increased in the last ten years from 1,565 to 2,198, and the number of newspapers from 576 to 655.

The Government oculist of Mysore has also submitted a full and valuable report on the deterioration of eyesight among the school-going population; and this subject is of equal importance with that of any other in India, and should be dealt with by Government. In Australia the matter was settled many years ago.

MISCELLANEOUS, &C.

Hardly a twelve-month has elapsed since we drew attention to a small indigo planter of the name of Fox, near Doomraon, being placed in charge of the vast Shahabad estates of the Maharani, and we learn that he has resigned, and with him a number of other "Foxes" and also other country-born Eurasians or Europeans who were also entertained by him on the estate. If they have resigned how can the (native) *Bihar News* write about "the incessant spoliation and ceaseless waste of the Raj treasures which went on during the administration of the late Manager *Saheb*?"—a statement enough to ruin a man, and that should be proved in a Court if Mr. Fox has any regard for his character. We were ourselves told by a high Government official of Calcutta who knew the Raj, and we are ourselves also aware, that even true claims of some people unable to enforce them were ignored. Whence, then, the "incessant spoliation?" We have even seen it mentioned somewhere that if Mr. Fox does not clear his character in a Court, Government will institute an enquiry, and we trust this will be done for the fair fame of the British name, whatever Mr. Fox will or will not do. The same *Bihar News* goes on to add :—

"We cannot but view the step taken by the Maharani Saheba with complacency. The Maharani has displayed firmness of mind and prudent sagacity in thus grappling with the awful situation. The selection of Babu Sivasaran Lal, a pleader of Arrah, for the Manager of the Raj, is excellent, and we hope other vacancies will be filled with the same consideration for ability, respectability and *locus standi* as in the above case." We will repeat what we said on the previous occasion, that such appointments, even as in Cooch Bihar, should be helped to be filled by Government. We think also it is time the Maharani selected an heir.

Some thirty-five years ago we pressed on Lord Lawrence, then Viceroy, the need there was of a "Poor Law" for India, and we now find Lord George Hamilton saying in Parliament "The relief given in India to mitigate the distress caused by famine during the last two years partakes very much of the character of poor law relief such as prevails in this country, and the numbers in India in receipt of such relief in proportion to the population are much less than those at the present moment in Great Britain receiving similar help." That is not, however, really so, if we remember the truth of the two *p. c.* "law" in regard to this matter, and the vast armies of beggars and mendicants who infest India everywhere, and compel people to pay a tax on their laziness, sores and ailments.

We see it stated that Lord Selborne has promised Dr. Wallace the grant of a Training Ship for the Hooghly. Dr. Wallace deserves well for his efforts, and so does Mr. James Luke. Of course, it had the support of the Local Government. So far good; but Dr. Wallace is moving in another matter, which may result in important issues for native Indians besides Anglo-Indians. At the Manchester meeting of the British Medical Association, Dr. Wallace submits a motion to the following effect :—"That in view of the fact that all the higher medical appointments in India are exclusively open through the portals of the Indian Medical Service the competitive examinations for which are held in London, and in view of the fact that it is impossible for many of the best graduates of Indian Universities to avail themselves of the opportunity of such competitive examinations, this meeting of the British Medical Association while emphasizing its approval of the principle of allowing the people of India as fair a chance as British Medical men of entering the higher services of that country, desires to recommend the adoption of a system of simultaneous competitive examinations in London and in Calcutta for the Indian Medical Service as the best means of affording to the people of India just scope for their natural and legitimate aspirations." Whether this motion, so true and just and helpful to India's medical needs, be carried or not, it shows that both "Anglo-Indians" and "Natives" are working for the same ends, and that the "Natives" would find their interests better served by following the "Anglo-Indians'" lead them by keeping aloof from them, or abusing them. Of course, the union—to break down unpolitic and unjust restrictions—may be objected to by the "Anglo-Indians" (who are, we believe, legally classed as "Natives," and which classification has to be accepted—many such "Natives" being actually officers in our army !) ; but that is another matter. This is how a native paper, called *New India*, writes on the subject:—"We sincerely regret the spirit of some of the speeches delivered last Monday night, at the Anglo-Indian Dinner, held under the auspices of the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association, at the Hotel Continental. We have the fullest sympathy with the wants and aspirations of this unfortunate community, but we feel that the unwisdom of their leaders in setting up a necessary antithesis between their small community and the larger community of the pure natives of the country, will always be a stumbling block in their way. . . . . . . Let them once for all choose between the 'land they live in,' and that other country—'Our mother country beyond the seas.' The domiciled Anglo-Indian community owing to their pretensions of birth and breed, lacks as yet this supreme sense of identification with this country and its people. It is therefore they speak of their value to the State, which will only come out on the outbreak of another Indian rebellion. They are more anxious to prove their identity with the pure whites,—a natural desire, but not conducive to the development of that self-respect without which no community may rise." There is much sense, much (unnecessary) abuse, and some misconception in this ; but there may be moderation and good sense ruling to the good of both, and of India.

Here is another of those queer, eccentric ideas of the London *Spectator* in regard to Indian subjects:—"It is rather a pity, that we cannot found a capital for India, where great buildings, libraries, and treasures might accumulate through ages, but the design, though repeatedly entertained, has always broken down before execution. Allahabad, at the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges, would be the fitting place, but it is opposed by the irresistible desire to live in the hills, and by the secret feeling of the dominant race that they are only camped in India. The original cost, too, would be considerable, and the Indian Treasury even when rich has ten claimants for every rupee." That "we are only camped in India" is a phrase we once heard from an old Indian Bishop who knew all India better than any Viceroy including the present.

A Madras firm advertises cheap passages to London for Rs. 220, and to Melbourne or Sydney for Rs. 125. This beats even the Orient Line's previous cheap rates.

At a recent competition held in England for the best original epitaph, the following carried off the prize. The *Civil and Military Gazette* received from a correspondent, "P. D. C.," a modern Persian translation, which, it is said, "sums up the whole character of a Persian gentleman."

EPITAPH.

He revelled under the moon,
He slept beneath the sun,
He lived a life of going-to-do
And died with nothing done.

Kas-i-bi-shab hama dar akl-u-shurb mi-pardakht
Bisati-i-khwab bi-hangam-i-ruz mi-andakht
Hamisha wa'da-yi farda bi karha mi-dad
Na-karda kari-u-asp-i-ajal bi-ruyash takht.

The Persian, however, can fight, also as a "gentleman!"

Convicts in Indian prisons at the beginning of the year numbered 97,196. 207,537 persons were imprisoned during the year. Of these 517 were executed and 3,334 died. Buddhists form the highest proportion of criminals, Mahomedans coming next. Only 9·4 per cent. were able to read or write. The convicts in the settlement at Port Blair number 11,947. Of these 7,795 are murderers and 2,262 dacoits. To suppress crime and bring offenders to punishment there are 143,937 civil and 20,615 military policemen, and yet crime is rampant. Here is another instance published of what goes on everywhere every day. It is not that the police cannot manage, but they *won't*—it is the general system of do-nothingness that prevails everywhere in everything in India—even in the Mineral Department, with its appointments of "experts" from Home who know nothing of the country—Government itself being the witness. Here is the public highway robbery :—A band of dacoits armed with guns boldly attacked a village chowki just outside Agra, and carried off a lot of valuables after wounding some villagers. And here is the Government record of last year's mineral work of a huge, over-manned, and over-paid Department :—

"The Resolution of the Government of India on the work of the Geological Survey last year states that the attempt to sink a 1,000-foot boring in the Palana Coal Field, Bikanere, has proved unsuccessful, and that an examination by Dr. Nöetling of the Sambhur Lake tends to allay the apprehension felt as to the probable exhaustion of the salt supply from that locality, and that the prospecting of auriferous fields in Chota-Nagpur has not so far resulted in the discovery of reefs containing paying gold. The Resolution speaks appreciatively of the services of Dr. Griesbach who is about to retire, and refers to useful work done during the year by Mr. Stonier, Dr. Nöetling and the late Dr. Von Kraft. It states that intimation has been received from the Secretary of State of the appointment of Mr. Maclaren as a Mining Specialist, also of two officers as Assistant Superintendents in the Department."

In Calcutta on the 23rd September 1837 two natives who had been found guilty of perjury were thus punished :—

"They had one side of their heads, whiskers, moustachios and beards shaved, they were then clothed in sackcloth, their heads decorated with fantastically-painted paper foolscaps, and strings of shoes were suspended from their necks, their faces were daubed on one side with blacking and on the other with chunam. They were then taken out of the Alipore Jail and mounted on jackasses with their faces towards the tails, while two sweepers every now and then flourished immense brooms over these worthies, and a common crier preceded them with a tom-tom beating on it the Rogue's March and detailing to the spectators the exploits of these two characters." A newspaper naively remarks on this :— "Perhaps this old custom might have been retained with advantage." Some "old customs" were very well suited to India—especially that one of doing thoroughly what had to be done, and not mere talking and "buttering" one another—a mark of degeneracy and loss of stamina (?—with the advent of "Imperialism"). With regard to the causes which culminated in the Mutiny, a thoughtful paper writes :—

"It can never be mathematically demonstrated that its origin was due to this cause or to that. But it is matter of common agreement that it was due to a variety of causes, which have been repeatedly set forth. The great disproportion between the numbers of British and native troops, the dislike of the latter to cross the salt water, the curtailment of the powers of commanding officers and consequent decay of discipline in the native army, our loss of prestige due to disasters in Afghanistan, the denial to native princes of the right of adoption, the annexation of Oudh, Sattara and Jhansi, sufficiently explain the readiness to rise against British rule, and gave a handle to disaffected intriguers at Delhi, Lucknow, Cawnpore and elsewhere. To the inflammable state of feeling thus induced the greased cartridge agitation served as a lighted match, and the explosion followed. All this is matter of common knowledge, and it is improbable that any more exact explanation will ever be forthcoming."

The subscriptions towords the John Nicholson Fund have already amounted to Rs. 30,000. At the last Indian Civil Service Dinner at the Hotel Cecil in London we find the names of the following who attended, among whom there are several of the "olden time" whom we knew personally:—

Sir C. A. Elliot, K.C.S.I. (Chairman); Dr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., LL.D.; Sir L. H. Griffin, K.C.S.I; Mr. I. H. Rivett-Carnac, C.I.E.; Sir C. C. Stevens, K.C.S.I.; Sir W. E. Ward, K.C.S.I.; Sir W. Mackworth Young, K.C.S.I.; Sir Steuart Bayley, K.C.S.I.; Sir H. M. Durand; Sir A. C. Lyall, G.C.I.E.; Mr. W. Seton-Karr; Mr. C. S. Belli; Mr. H. L. Dampier; Mr. H. A. Cockerell, C.S.I.; Mr. H. A. Harrison; Mr T. W. Holderness, C.S.I.; Sir C. I. Lyall, K.C.S.I.; Mr. I. W. Neill, C.S.I.; Mr. H. R. R. Hopkins; Mr. J. A. Baines, C.S.I.; Sir P. P. Hutchins, K.C.S.I.; Sir D. C. Macnabb, K.C.S.I.; Mr. W. H. R. Merk, C.S.I.; Sir J. B. Lyall, G.C.I.E.; Mr. D. R. Lyall, C.S.I.; Mr. F. E. Jackson; Sir W. H. D'Oyley, Bart.; Mr. G. A. Grierson, C.I.E.; Mr. E. R. Henry, C.S.I.; Mr. H. L. Salkeld; and many more.

In that wonderfully romantic and lovely valley Kulu, north of Bajaora, we note the appearance remarked of a "mysterious beast" which did much damage to cattle, but that it disappeared directly the sepoys that were sent against it from Mundi arrived, and, not been heard of since. The sepoys waited over three weeks, could find nothing, got tired, and went back. The Sinore "rupti" lumberdar says it killed 27 head of cattle, six goats, and two bears, but did no harm to human beings or dogs. The general opinion of the villagers seems in favour of its having been a *bhut* in the shape of an unknown beast! This reminds us not only of the Australian *bunyip*, of which so many stories are told, but of an "experience" we underwent in some very wild Indian jungles—where we offered to take our *dear* Viceroy, and where the great natural wonder is situated—when alone in our tent at night, from some "beast" that was two-legged —our ear had been trained to distinguish the sounds of different animals' feet—and that was certainly not a tiger or a bear. Tigers and bears are ordinary animals easily dealt with. The "experience" was one of only two or three minutes, and was one of the few occasions in our life-long adventures in the wild parts of the world in various countries—once before in Borneo with a wild armed Malay in thick jungle and also at night, and again in Thibet against a "chief" when "trapped" in his "castle,"—when we grasped our revolver, resolved to sell life dearly, not being quite sure it was not a *gorilla.* (This in India.)

LATEST.

The Viceroy has been to Mysore and has installed the Maharajah. After saying that moral maxims were useless, His Excellency proceeded to give a few (very good ones). There, was also the usual "spill" over a figure of speech, but Oxford men were never good at figures of speech. This is a fact which Lord Curzon would do well to ponder. We doubt if "puffs of smoke" pass easily from the memory. We know that some lovely curls from our pipe ages ago can never pass from our memory. Imagine, too, a "puff of smoke" being introduced into a salutary moral lesson! As we once before remarked Lord Curzon has a fund of humour of which he is supremely unconscious. "Work as though you were going to live not for fifty years but for five";—why, in that case every Editor in India would be "dead corpses" (*authorised version*) in one day!

The Maharajah of Burdwan is to be installed on the *gadi* some time in November. The cost of the Installation is estimated at rupees two lakhs. It is anticipated that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal will preside at the ceremony. The Maharajah is the premier and greatest nobleman of Bengal, and as such, may well be asked into the selected company of "Chiefs" in India at the Coronation Durbar. We believe the tenantry on his estates outnumber the whole population of Mysore. When we refer to him as the premier nobleman of Bengal, we except H. H. The Nawab of Moorshedabad, whom we succeeded in the Government of Bengal, and who has the rank of a "Prince" and ought of right to have a place among the "Princes" at the Durbar. So, too, ought H. H. The Nawab Prince of Arcot or the Carnatic, from whom we got Madras, to have an honored place. Meanwhile, there are signs of an impending famine over a considerable portion of the Peninsula. In regard to the *personnel* of the Police Commission the *Bengali* finds the same defect that we have pointed out, and the *Indian Mirror* thereon makes an attack on all "Commissions":—

> "As to the *personnel* of the Indian members of the Commission, we have to express our sense of disappointment. As the *Indian Mirror* puts it, those who ought to be on the Commission are not there, and those who have been appointed members have not shown any special aptitude for dealing with the problems which will be placed before them."—*(Bengali.)*
>
> "We are grieved to say, that Lord Curzon's acts have been mostly in the nature of abortive or mischievous Commissions and Committees

> in one direction, and interminable tours, and 'pageantry, processions and firing of salutes,' which he himself deprecated at the threshold of his administration in another. He said then, that 'the salvation of India is his duty.' The conception was correct enough, but the execution has been almost always wrong and misdirected. Were Lord Curzon a less clever man, he would be less self-opinionated. He should then not send Commissions and Committees flying about the country—not to collect and digest independent non-official opinion—but to merely carry out a certain programme which he had already thought out in his own mind to achieve a certain end in a particular manner. Lord Curzon will brook no contradiction and no denial. He must have servants obedient to his will, and the Great Mogul himself could not have been more slavishly served.—*(Indian Mirror.)*

And, as if the utter inefficiency of the Police, such as we are pleased to have it, were not daily proved, here is another instance just to hand of the security of life and limb of respectable subjects in India :—

Krishnaswamy Moodelly, one of the masters in Pachaiyappa's High School, Madras, after his work at the school was over, took the train at the Beach Station and alighted at Veyasarpady Station at about 6-30 P. M. He in company with his peon walked along, inspecting some of his lands between Veyasarpady and Perambore. A short time after passing the village of Veyasarpady he was attacked by several men, who beat him unmercifully with sticks and their fists and relieved him of his clothes, watch and chain and money—his salary which he had just drawn that evening. The peon who attempted to defend his master was also brutally treated and bound hand and foot and carried away to a secluded spot. While Mr. Krishnaswamy Moodelly was left in a fearful plight in the fields, his servant was taken to the bed of the Veyasarpady tank and there the budmashes broke the lantern the man carried, and with the pieces of broken glass jabbed him all over the face and body, and are said to have used their knives, wounding the man seriously. Later on some passer-by found Krishnaswamy Moodelly lying in the fields and his peon in the bed of the tank and conveyed them to their house in Perambore. This morning they were taken to the General Hospital and admitted. The talk about misgoverned Turkey or China or Persia is an outrageous farce after this. There is only one Police officer who kept crime away from his districts, and he was obliged to retire from the service !

We may now close with the latest items from Europe. The Commander of the First Army Corps of the German Army writes that "if the Boers had kept a positive aim before their eyes, namely, the determination to drive the British out of South Africa, and had assumed the offensive at the right moment with this determination in view, the war would have had another termination."

As we have before remarked, the real troubles of South Africa are now beginning. We will say nothing more than urnish a few facts, in as much as Mr. A. J. Balfour, now Premier, has called Chamberlain, who fell into the trap of a war made for him, and broke down in it and through it, "a great statesman!" (Doubtless they both want "certificates" from one another, *but they will not get one from posterity.*)

Many Transvaal and Orange Burghers, who fought to the end, are wearing green badges, also the Republican colours. The ex-National Burgher Scouts are being subjected to persecution and boycotting. There is a distinct reaction towards nationality, especially in the towns. It is suggested that the best means of overcoming the bitter feeling would be the appointment of Dutchmen to positions on the Executive Council or the repatriation of the Nationalist Committee. Judge Hertzog, a former Commandant, addressing the Boers released on parole, asked them to remember that they were Transvaalers or Free Staters first, citizens of the Empire afterwards. The Boers surrendered, not because they were defeated, but because they desired to save their women and children from further misery. The Boer Generals, meanwhile, have arrived in England and have been received by the King. Mr. Steyn, who was truly mad before the war, and to whom it was in a great measure due, is hopelessly paralysed, and is now in Holland. Old Kruger remains impenitent. Dr. Leyds is still probably mischief-making. And that unfortunate "Chief Secretary" of the Transvaal Reitz, who could pray at "conversion" meetings, but who was curiously defective in his knowledge of the Kingdom of the Prince of Peace, has settled in Sumatra. Let us trust he will remain there.

General Louis Botha has the calmest and clearest head of any Boer, and he says, "The influence of himself and his friends would be brought to bear in the proper direction so long as they saw that a broad-minded policy formed the keynote of South African administration for the future. Neither he nor his friends could understand, however, why a portion of the Transvaal had been given over to Natal. He failed to see that Natal deserved to get any territory from the Transvaal any more than did Canada, Australia, or New Zealand, each of which had, perhaps, done more for the Empire." The Pretoria Correspondent who furnishes the above "interview" with Botha, writes:—

> "That a man in his position, and who speaks, without a doubt, the minds of the other Boer leaders, should at the conclusion of peace feel it necessary to make his voice heard so trenchantly and clearly upon certain aspects of the situation is not devoid of significance. His references to the Natal Government had a bitter ring about them. There is abundant evidence that the late leaders are not disposed to permit the Boers at large to merge their "nationality" into ours

> unless and until the future proves to them that Crown Colony control is not to repeat historical mistakes, and that the Government of the people by the people is to be reached within a reasonable period of probation. The spirit of General Botha's remarks illustrates the magnitude of the task which lies before Viscount Milner. It was obvious to me that the General has considerable fear for the future, and really—looking to the illogical and vacillating, not to say unstatesmanlike, policy which, for many years prior to the war, distinguished the attitude of the different Imperial Governments with regard to South Africa—it is not surprising that the Boers, amenable as they may be to the new situation, should view the coming years with some misgiving. It is useless to remind them that enlightenment has succeeded to a superficial knowledge of South African needs, and that the interests of the Boers are identical, and will be made identical, with ours. By our deeds, however, shall they begin to know and understand us better."

We with our intimate and first-hand knowledge of South Africa and the Boers and British there, simply say that there is no hope for South Africa under the Balfour *cum* Chamberlain mutual-certificating, Ministry, and the sooner it gives way for even the peace of England (on the education question), and of Ireland (which is perilously near an outbreak), to a Liberal Ministry of men like Morley, Carrington, Bryce and Campbell-Bannerman the better. This is positively our "last word" in reference to South Africa; and as before, we shall be found to be right, even though there is such an unusually moderate man as Lord Milner as high Commissioner—but his wisdom and strength are both small. His putting £2 on each Kaffir is a piece of insensate and inexpensable folly.

The New Ministry has been formed and is composed as follows:—

Mr. Balfour, First Lord of the Treasury and Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Halsbury, Lord Chancellor.
The Duke of Devonshire, President of the Council.
Mr. Akers Douglas, Home Secretary.
Lord Lansdowne, Foreign Secretary.
Mr. Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary.
Mr. Brodrick, War Office.
Lord Hamilton, India Office.
Lord Selbourne, First Lord of the Admiralty.
Mr. Ritchie, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord Ashbourne, Lord Chancellor of Ireland.
Mr. Wyndham, Chief Secretary for Ireland.
Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Chief Secretary for Scotland.
Mr. Gerald Balfour, Board of Trade.
Mr. Long, Local Government Board.
Mr. Hanbury, Board of Agriculture.
Lord Londonderry, Minister of Education.
Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Postmaster-General.

Lord Dudley, Viceroy of Ireland, is outside and Mr. Wyndham is inside the Cabinet.

Sir William Walrond, Chief Government Whip, succeeds Lord James of Hereford as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, but without a seat in the Cabinet, while Lord Windsor becomes First Commissioner of Works in succession to Mr. Akers Douglas. Another change announced is the transfer of Lord Hardwicke from the India Office to the War Office, his place at the former being taken by Earl Percy, Member for South Kensington, since 1895.

It will be seen that Lord George Hamilton stays in, and probably, for his work, there is no better man in the party. And it is our opinion this Ministry will not last long—the last Leeds by-election being a sure indication of which way the breeze is now blowing—and well for England, Ireland and South Africa that it is thus blowing. The Colonial Conference has ended, as we anticipated, in no definite conclusions except a small increased contribution to the Navy. Our home people are as ignorant of the Colonies as they are of South Africa and India (native India). Ireland, as we have said, is perilously near an outbreak, and as on a former similar occasion in India, the (then) Prince of Wales was sent here to prevent an outbreak and create an atmosphere of "loyalty," so now it is stated that the King will shortly visit Ireland. It seems all the Colonial representatives are in favour of "Home Rule" for Ireland; at the same time that Mr. Wyndham rules Ireland without reference to its public opinion! Without our urging Home Rule, Mr. Wyndham, of whom there had been much hope, seems to have failed altogether.

At the Annual Meeting of the Deputies of Protestant Dissenters of three denominations, Presbyterian, Independent and Baptist, a resolution was passed hoping for a continuance of efforts in and out of Parliament to secure the abandonment of the Education Bill, and stating that in the event of failure of these efforts the Deputies would not be prepared to accept the measure as final or its provisions as binding on them. Mr. Caine, M. P., said it was the Free Church Councils rather than the Liberal Associations who were doing the work of the Liberal leaders. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Asquith, Lord Rosebery and others were doing a certain amount of work, but they only made occasional stereotyped protests. Mr. Balfour had never understood Non-Conformity. If the Bill passed the fight must be carried on to the bitter end. (Cheers.) They must refuse to comply with its provisions and use those methods by which their fathers rid the country of church rates, and in their own time the Welsh farmers dealt with the tithe difficulty. (Cheers.)

The Chairman of Messrs. Harland and Wolff, giving evidence before the Steamship Subsidies Commission, said that Mr. Pierpont Morgan offered the British Government the services of every liner built in Great Britain for the Navigation Syndicate on the same terms as apply to the White Star—Mr. Morgan is exceedingly kind, and the great British Empire (Navy included) must be duly thankful to Mr. Morgan.

Finally, the *Saturday Review* has turned against Lord Roberts! Here is what it says:—

"The office of Commander-in-Chief, when the Duke o[illegible] Cambridge had retired, was shorn of much of its true impor[illegible]ance; but, as we have pointed out, some of its powers hav[illegible] since been restored, and it would still possess plenty of reali[illegible] in the hands of a capable and energetic administration; and with that administrator, strong and popular enough to be also—with some obvious limitations—independent, he might at the present time perform incalculable services for his country. Lord Roberts's warmest admirers will hardly contend that he is fulfilling any of these conditions; and the disagreeable truth is really this, that the whole idea of his proving an able and industrious administrator, a bold reformer, and a vigorous hater of all shams has turned out to be a simple and absolute myth."

Lord Roberts may have his little faults—and what good man has not?—but he is above the criticism of such papers as the *Saturday Review*, the *Spectator* and the *Times* (as at present conducted). He may not be a General of the Marlborough or Wellington type, but we have not any better than he a present; and he is both progressive in his ideas, and a tru l of the soldier. Now that the wholesale mistakes in co with the South African War are past, we may as wel that Lord Roberts is Commander-in-Chief. His soldierly face is an inspiration to those who do not believe in journalistic *bunkum*. Lord Roberts has just been to Netley Hospital where he gave an excellent address, in which he recounted the names of most of the old leaders of the Medical profession in India. We find he omitted two great names who were "all" in Bengal before even John Campbell Brown's days—we refer to Dr. James Taylor and Dr. Thomas Allan Wise. We wonder if there is any one now in India who remembers them. John Campbell Brown, one of the "cheery" lot, fitted us out medically from the Punjab when we started on our Central Asian Expedition, one of our aspects being "Yunani Huqueem to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Roum!" (Greek Physician to the Grand Turk!)* Brown even wished he was whole and sound and younger to accompany us.

---

*This will be found changed in *Kim* to a Baboo doctor of Dacca. Many other stories of the choicest flavour, as of Nana Saheb and his capturing his captor (evidently Lurgan), the great *Momiai*, the wonderful Magician, and a host of others were evidently unknown to Kiplings. For the purpose of his story he splits up one individual's performances into many parts. The picture of the Lama is completely overdrawn (our Red Lama's dress was deposited in the Asiatic Society's Museum), and any *Kim* is a figment of the imagination in India.

So, too, we received offers on the one hand from an old "millionaire" to join us, and on the other from that dear "Saint" Nehemiah Nilkant Shastri Goreh, then a Pundit in Benares and afterwards a "Cowley Father" in Poona, whose praises have been sung by Max Müller, and who was one of our dearest Indian friends.) We are wandering. Let us add that Lord Roberts did not forget to add Dr. Macleod's name in the noble list—Dr. Macleod so well known, loved and highly reverenced in Bengal and now head of the Hospital—Dr. Macleod who, if anyone, should have received his knighthood, though of course there is yet time for this official recognition of his headship of the surgical profession in India, especially if Lord Roberts, who seems to know him and his eminence well, takes him in hand at the India Office.

And now we come to our "obituary" list, which shall be short. Sir John Ware Edgar, K.C.I.E., formerly Chief Secretary to the Bengal Government, and who retired in 1892. We saw him enter the service in the sixties—a pleasant and happy man without too much "head." George Irving, merchant of Calcutta, long the leader in all acts of private charity. We trust his mantle will fall on the worthy shoulders of Colin Gulliland, though there are one or two other very excellent names. The happiness of doing good and relieving genuine want is known only to those who practice it. Henry Dunning Macleod, in London, the leading (and soundest) writer on Political Economy, Banking, &c., for more than a generation past, and whose masterly opinion decided the lines of the rehabilitation of the Indian Currency when it was considered by the Commission of which he was a member. His work on Banking is still the text-book of bankers, and we see him mentioned in an excellent paper in the last (Calcutta) *National Magazine* by Reginald Murray, Chief of the Commercial Bank. Mr. Macleod was the brother of the Laird of Invergordon, N.B., and was originally entered for the bar—a dear friend of his being Lord Chief Justice Coleridge. He has, we believe, several sons high up in the Indian Services. We are afraid we must also add here the name of our most able writer of our late paper on the "Nobel Competition"—who died in Norway soon after. We have lately lost many of our ablest, oldest and best contributors. The anecdote with reference to Lord Dufferin is this:—Sir Alex. Mackenzie wished to gain some point as Home Secretary, and said he was the Home Secretary. Lord Dufferin quietly replied, "and I am the Viceroy!"

THE EDITOR.

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No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contended with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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"WHERE THE SUN (LIGHT) NEVER SETS."

VISIT OF THE INDIAN CORONATION CONTINGENT TO PORT SUNLIGHT.

To those members of the Indian Army who have been privileged to visit England, the memory of the reception which they received by all classes in the Mother Country will never fade. Wherever they went there was an enthusiastic welcome. But nowhere was the welcome more cordial than at Port Sunlight, the village which is known all over the world as the home of Sunlight Soap. Messrs. Lever Brothers took advantage of the visit paid by our brothers to Liverpool, and invited them to view their works and village. The invitation was accepted, and on Monday, July 28th, the entire contingent, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Dawson, travelled by special steamer from Liverpool to New Ferry, where they were met by the Port Sunlight Silver Prize Band, and escorted to Port Sunlight, about a mile and-a-half away, through gaily-decked streets lined with cheering crowds of people. Flags and banners were displayed at every point, and the day being gloriously fine, the scene was most enchanting. As the stalwart soldiers marched along, many complimentary remarks were heard, and the impression they created was highly flattering. Mr. W. H. Lever, the Chairman and founder of the company, received the contingent at the door of the Offices, and each detachment was guided through the works by an official. The reserve so noticeable in the Indian soldiery was somewhat broken down, as wonder after wonder was viewed; and many expressions of delight and astonishment passed from man to man as they visited the various departments. After leaving the works, the detachments were re-formed, and entered Hulme Hall—a large and handsome dining room for the work-girls—where the officers and men were entertained with light refreshments, fruit, cigars, cigarettes, &c. Before leaving the hall each man was presented with a book containing views of the Village and Works, describing in detail many points of interest to the visitor, and also a cardbox containing sample tablets of Sunlight Soap, each box bearing labels in the seven principal Indian languages. The men were charmed with their visit, and those who could speak a little English expressed their regret that they had only been able to stay such a short time. To the villagers the sight of a body of men of such splendid physique and attired in such varied uniforms was educational, and the distinctly polite, gentlemanly manner of all the soldiers impressed everyone. There was at no time the slightest semblance of rushing or crowding. Everything was done in the most orderly style, and where favours were conferred the soldiers were profuse in their thanks. On the other hand, our Indian brothers will take back to their countrymen and to their loved ones in India pleasant stories of their visit to Port Sunlight, and a tangible gift with ample and easily read descriptions of the uses of that Sunlight Soap of which they have often heard, which has made the pretty village on the Mersey possible and famous.

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ART. I.—THE INDIAN LAND REVENUE.

THE late Sir William Hunter, who never allowed pedantic accuracy to impede the production of effect, was wont to write of the "Land-Tax" as an item of Indian Finance. The analogy was misleading, and has supplied the critics of the British administration with more than one weapon of attack. Adding the total derived from that source to the yield of taxation proper, they have sought to show that a crushing load has been imposed upon a people whose resources are hardly equal to the humblest needs of life. The subject is one both of importance and interest. If the critics were right the Government must be one of the worst—like that of one of the early Emperors who said that his object was to leave his Hindu subjects no more than what would keep them alive. But it is the very reverse of truth, for the portion of rent which the British administrators of India divide with the zemindars is enough to pay nearly half of the net outlay on State-purposes; and to that extent the tax-payer escapes. It is as if Cornishmen were excused from paying Income-tax because the Prince of Wales derived an equivalent sum from lands and mines in the Duchy.

But there is an even more weighty fact, to which attention is not always paid. The share of the rent appointed to the relief of the tax-payer has been larger under all previous Governments, while the value of money has diminished, more laid out upon profitable and benevolent objects, and far less run to waste on middlemen and corrupt officials. The reforming Emperor Akbar took a third of the gross produce; it is the aim of the present Government to take a tenth. Under the more vigorous of his successors the estimated total rose to more than thirty millions of modern money, besides a leakage of the kind mentioned above, which a contemporary reckoned at as much more. At that time the unskilled labourer got about Rs. 2 a month, while the pay of a foot-soldier was little more than double. Prices of commodities were in proportion. The system of rackrenting lasted into modern times. The Begum Somru attempted to take the entire net yield of the land from the agriculturists of her Fief at Sardhana; and the first thing that the Board of Revenue did, when it fell in by her death in 1836, was to reduce the demand by 20 per cent. At that time the maximum rating of British administration was 75 per cent. It has now reduced to 50. If the Dutts and Digbys could succeed in obtaining a further reduction they would have to point out some source whence the deficit could be made good; and the burdens of the unrepresented people would be perilously increased.

The question whether the present connection of India with the Empire is an advantage would be one of complexity and magnitude. The people of the Eastern country have received peace and commercial prosperity, population has increased, secondary wants and manufacturing interests have been introduced, with new standards of morals and civilisation. On the other hand, the revenue of the United Kingdom has been replenished and a field laid open for the employment of white labour in various fields, while many valiant soldiers have been made available for the defence of the Empire.

Against these things there is a certain amount of drawback. The increase of population in British India does not favour the survival of the fittest; a dense crowd of weaklings is poured upon the land; plague, pestilence and famine are becoming chronic and appear as Nature's protest against the introduction of new cloth into an old garment. On the British side is to be set the political and military peril, which impend on a position that has had no precedent since the decline of the Roman Emperor. Like the Romans of that time we have to defend a great and growing frontier with an army that is largely recruited by foreign mercenaries. It might be argued that the interests of both countries point to a gradual retirement from the administration of India, conditionally on the retention of a few treaty-ports, and the assurance that other powers would not take possession of the vacated Hinterland in a spirit of hostility and plunder. The case of China is suggestive. Should the Russians and the French ever effect a partition of that vast Empire it may well be doubted whether British Commerce would be long allowed to retain its rights and privileges at Shanghai, Hong-Kong, or even Wei-hai-wei.

If these things be so it follows that, for the present, the connection ought to be maintained; and for its maintenance the good-will of the people is an essential factor. Now the bulk of the Indian people is agricultural; and is, with one exception, untaxed. That exception is not the so-called Land Tax. The land has been inherited or purchased by its present holders under a rental of which a part was earmarked for the use of the State. Those who hold free of such payment—known in India as Mamdars or Mafidars—are no better off than their revenue paying neighbours, the value of whose estates has indeed been enhanced by the modern Government. The only tax that is paid by the agriculturist who abstains from luxuries is a poll-tax levied in the form of an excise on the salt that he eats, and the incidence has been worked out at about six to twenty—say sixpence a head per annum. When we remember that for this modest contribution the agriculturists' get protection for their industry, transport for their produce, and collection for their children, we cannot fairly call the payment unreasonable. The rest of the taxation falls on those who use litigation, stamped paper, ardent spirits, etc., or have assessable incomes. This minority—about 20 per cent. of the whole population—also pays municipal rates if—as is usual—it lives in towns; but the rural community pays no more than the salt-tax already mentioned. A duty on tobacco has been sometimes mentioned; but it has never been adopted—probably from a conviction that it would alienate the allegiance of the agriculturists on whose good will rest the sure foundations of the Indian Empire.

H. G. KEENE.

ART. II.—THE PORTUGUESE IN MALABAR.

INTRODUCTION.

MALABAR is a district that lies on the west coast of Southern India, wedged in between the Arabian Sea and Western Ghauts, and extending roughly from the 9th to the 12th degree of latitude. Though Malabar under the name of its present political division excludes the Native States of Cochin and Travancore, which lie south of it, Malabar of the period we have to deal with in this article included the whole of Cochin and part of Travancore; thus the ancient Kerala extended over a large area of territory of over 25,000 square miles.

Intersected by numerous rivers, lakes and canals, and interspersed by numerous hills over hills set in gay theatric pride, Malabar, the garden of India, presents much charming natural scenery, the like of which may not be found in many other parts of the earth. The Western Ghauts, arresting the exit from the land, of clouds brought by the South-West Monsoons, Malabar shares an abundant supply of rain which considerably mitigates the heat of the climate and prevents the reservoirs of waters from becoming dry in the hot season as they do in other parts of India. A serpentine water-way now swelling into mighty rivers and extensive ponds which can float a man-of-war, now dwindling into tiny artificial canals, connect Trivendrum in the south with Cananoor in the north. It ramifies in several directions, permeates the country, especially in the south, like arteries in the body of man, and possesses frequent outlets into the sea which make it feel the variations of depth, synchronous with ebb and flow, and enable at high water ships and junks to carry commerce with important places in the interior. This highly advantageous water-system has contributed much to the furtherance of native commerce, and stood the Portuguese comers in good stead.

If ample means of communication, which develop commerce are not wanting, there are also not wanting in Malabar articles to start commerce. Malabar has been, from very ancient times, noted for its pepper, ginger and cardamom. Pepper has been aptly spoken of as the money of Malabar. The early Greeks and Romans had established colonies in Malabar and stationed fleets on the Malabar Coast to secure the pepper trade of the country. The nations of China, Arabia, Egypt and Turkey considerably enriched themselves by supplying the mediæval marts of Europe with the spicy products of Malabar.

and extended their kingdom by numerous conquests. Subsequent to the departure of the Perumal, many petty Rajas—whether they obtained their kingdoms by gift or conquest is not known—had arisen in Malabar, among whom the Rajas of Cannanore, Tanur, Cochin and Quilon claimed pre-eminence above the rest. Gradually these Rajas had, either to fall beneath the conquering arms of Manichan and Vikraman or acknowledge their suzerainty. The whole of Malabar was organised into a feudal system, and there are a multitude of evidences in local customs and tradition which point to that feudalism was once universally prevalent in Malabar and that this feudalism was more akin to the type that once existed on the Continent of Europe than to that which was introduced into England. The descendants of Manichan and Vikraman, the eldest and ruling one among whom bore as they still do, the title of Mana Vikrama (a compound of Manichan and Vikraman) stood at the top of this feudal scale. Their overlordship in Malabar was signified by their royal title Kunnalakonethere (meaning literally 'The Lord of the land between sea and mountain') which was later on translated into its Sanskritic equivalent 'Samoodiri,' a corruption of which is the present word 'Zamorin.' The Zamorin ruled his kingdom from the port town of Calicut which, in course of time, became the far-famed capital of 'Malé.' Calicut is described by some early travellers as one of the richest towns in India, where a multitude from all nations might be seen buying and selling goods of different climes. The commercial as well as political greatness of the Zamorin made his vassals look upon him with jealousy and hatred. They were only waiting for an opportunity to take up arms against the suzerainty of Calicut. The Portuguese in their quest for India were actuated by three motives, *viz.*, Conquest, Commerce, and Conversion, and, as Sir William Wilson Hunter says, they might have searched the whole India in vain for a better spot suited for their purposes than Malabar. The mutually jealous local rulers might easily have been taken advantage of, by any who thirsted for conquest and who desired to play them off, one against the other. Its proximity to the sea and its richness in the very commodities which all nations were seeking for, rendered Malabar specially suitable for the commercial designs of the Portuguese. The tolerance shown by the local rulers for the several religions of their subjects (to which we have already referred) gave the Portuguese in Malabar safe and ample scope for exercising their proselytising ardour.

THE PORTUGUESE IN MALABAR.

On the 20th of May 1498 a company of fishermen who had been out at sea in the interests of their profession, beheld with astonishment a fleet of four ships making way towards the Calicut harbour at an unusual part of the year. The monsoons had set in; and it was not usual for ships to call at Calicut till the monsoons were over. They thought that the ships belonged to some Calicut Arabs, but on nearing the fleet their astonishment was increased when they saw that the habits, looks and language of the inmates of the ships were neither Hindu nor Musalman, but beings quite strange and queer to their eyes. The pilot of one of the ships was a Guzerati sailor who, when questioned by the fishermen, said that the ships were of a white people whom he joined at the African port of Melenthe, and whom he promised that he would pilot them to the far-famed Indian Coast. The fishermen were delighted to see the quaint colour and habits of the foreigners and gladly guided them to the harbour of Calicut. The Captain of the fleet was no less than the famous Vasco-de Gama. He sent immediately two of his sailors ashore. While they were wandering up and down the streets of Calicut, unable to speak to anybody through ignorance of the native language, some Arabs and Moors recognised in the colour and dress of the two foreigners their Portuguese nationality. They gladly welcomed the strangers, their future rivals and enemies, and showed them all the streets and shops and all the goods and merchandise of the town. But fortunately there was a Castilian in one of the shops who could speak the Portuguese tongue; and he asked them in their language 'Who the devil brought you here?' The sailors replied that their king had sent them to India for pepper and spices and Chinese goods; and that after a perilous voyage of many nights and days they had at last arrived at the far-famed capital of Malé where pepper grows. They also unconsciously dropped a hint as to what they were, not merchants merely, but crusaders as well. They also said their king was delighted to hear of the existence of Christian communities in India and thought that it was necessary in the interests of Christianity to establish a connection with their brethren across the seas. The Castilian showed them great hospitality and promised to act as a translator and mediator between the Zamorin and themselves. He briefly described to them the state of the political and commercial affairs of the land. He told them plainly that the country was very rich and possessed extensive commerce with Arabia and China; and that the trade was mainly in the hands of the Arabs and Moors. He told them that the Zamorin was a weak ruler, that his Court was subject to priestly dominion, while his town and harbour were subject to Moslem influence.

On the advice of the Castilian friend, Gama at once despatched a message to the Zamorin who was in the town of Ponnani at that time. The Zamorin gladly received them and showed the strangers the hospitality which was characteristic of his race. He advised them to take their ships to the safe harbour of Pantalayini Kollam till the monsoons were over; he also promised them that he would grant Gama an interview when he would come to Calicut. About the 20th of June the Zamorin came to Pantalayini followed by his bodyguard of 200 Nayars and his Kothuval. On hearing the news of the Zamorin's arrival Gama apprehending some possible dangers to his life while alone and ashore, he called together his men and told them that if anything happened to him they must at once sail to their native land and inform their king and lord of their successful voyage to the East Indies. Having done this, Gama dressed himself in his best attire, landed and proceeded to the palace of the Zamorin accompanied by twelve of his countrymen. They were safely escorted by a company of Nayars to the palace of Pantalayini. But though the Zamorin allowed them to come and see him in his chamber, the Brahmins could not conscientiously allow the foreigners to enter the palace before they were purified by a spray of consecrated water. It is said that Gama was given some sandal paste which he used on his forehead in the orthodox Hindoo way. The Portuguese were then taken to a temple to crown the act of purification. From the temple the company entered the gates of the palace proper. This palace which is now in ruins, had four distinct rows of massive stone-built walls, and four times as many gates and towers, each guarded by a decade of soldiers. Multitudes of people thronged the palace gardens to witness the strange procession. The crowd was so dense that the soldiers had great difficulty in keeping order among them. Many are said to have died in the pressure of the throng. Bugles and trumpets were sounded, drums and tom-toms were beaten; and muskets and cannons were fired in honour of the new-comers. Gama and his dozen followers were duly received by the several dignitaries of the Court and ushered at last into the presence chamber. This hall was a very spacious one. Its floor was thickly carpeted and its walls and ceilings were richly adorned with gems and jewels and silken draperies. The royal ministers had their seats arranged before the richly carved and cushioned sofa-like throne of the Zamorin. The Raja though advanced in age, had adorned his person in a rather fantastic manner. It is said, though with a slight exaggeration, that his right hand was adorned with fourteen bracelets glittering with gems, that his ears dropped down to his shoulders with the golden weight of brilliant earrings; and that his head was covered with a golden crown, and his waist girdled with a gold belt set with blazing gems. Servants stood in attendance on him; some cooling him with gorgeous fans, some bearing golden trays filled with spices, and nuts and betel leaves, and others holding wide-rimmed cups of gold to receive the royal spittle. When the Portuguese captain entered the royal chamber, he saw the ministers standing before His Highness, their mouths respectfully covered by their hands. Gama and his men thrice kneeling before the Zamorin were beckoned to proper seats. The story goes that the royal guests were treated to a dish of jack fruit which they ate in a curious way. They threw away the sweet rind and ate heartily the bitter muts. They were then given water to drink, which, however, they were obliged to empty into their mouths in due aristocratic way carefully preventing any unholy contact between the cup and the lips. But the Portuguese were not accustomed to this way of drinking and they began to cough tremendously to the hearty enjoyment of the Zamorin and his Court. When the interesting treat was over Gama told the Zamorin that he had come as an agent of the King of Portugal to open trade with the East; that his countrymen were obliged to buy Indian goods from the Moors at an enormous rate, and that though his king had sent many an explorer to discover a sea-route to India he was the only successful one of them. Gama then presented to the Zamorin a letter from King Emmanuel of Portugal written in Arabic. The Zamorin declined to receive it at the time and sent away Gama and his men promising them an interview shortly after. When they came out of the palace their Castilian friend told them that rich presents would be a more eloquent pleader with the Zamorin than anything else on their behalf; and Gama accordingly sent the Raja at once some of the richest things he had brought with him, excusing himself for their smallness on the ground that his arrival at his Highness's Court was quite unexpected.

The poverty of the presents had great consequences. The Moors seeing that the results of the interview were in favour of the Portuguese, and fearing that they might be eclipsed and ruined by the new foreigners, they went in a body to the Zamorin and told him that the Portuguese were not regular traders, but pirates pure and simple, with no king to obey and with no loss to respect. They supported their words by alleging as a proof, the poor and unkingly presents Gama had made, and by the rumour of some piratical encounters the new foreigners recently had with some of the Calicut ships. They urged their claim to be protected by the Zamorin on the ground that they were the old dependents of his Highness, who had ever proved ready to die for his Highness's sake. They threatened the Zamorin with a wholesale emigration of the Moslem population of Calicut—an act which, if it were to be performed, would seriously tell upon his Highness's exchequer. The Moors crowned their arguments for the exclusion of the Portuguese from Calicut by reminding the Zamorin of the words of an astrologer who had in the previous year predicted that a foreign nation would soon conquer the palmy Kerala. Their words had their intended effect on the Zamorin. It was to his interest, as well as to that of his country, that there should be a trading community in his town. It mattered little to him whether they were the Moors or the Portuguese. So long as he was sure to get his dues he was prepared to admit any strangers into his town for commercial purposes. But in the present case the jealousy of the Moors set the Zamorin against the new-comers. Suffice it to say that two days after the interview spoken of above, Gama was summoned before his Highness, adjured to speak the truth about his race and mission and threatened with immediate death in case of uttering a lie. "Do you think that the people of this country are brutes or stones that you make me a present of such poor paltry things? Speak the truth, or be prepared to die." This was the tone which the Zamorin now assumed towards the same people whom a few days ago he had received with so great pomp and festivity. Gama saw that his cause was in danger, but he nerved himself up to this brief and unreserved reply: "You do not know anything about us now. You will learn all about us gradually. Our king is a follower of Christianity and is earnestly working to spread the religion of the Cross all over the world. We want to create union between the several nations on the earth. We are very glad to observe in your Triad or Trinity a resemblance between our religions. You worship Maria (a Hindu goddess). We also worship Maria (the Holy Virgin). If you will accept our faith, your country will progress by leaps and bounds. We love all nations, but not the Mussalmans. They are over-reaching us always. They are imposing upon you also. Do not believe what they say about us. If you kill us, our king will come and avenge our deaths. Gama then presented the king's letter to the Zamorin. The Raja of Calicut then dismissed Gama, advising him to remain on board his ship to prevent any collision between the Moors and the Portuguese, at the same time promising an immediate communication of his will. Long and peaceful mutual intercourse had bound the Muhammadan foreigners and the Native Hindoos of the Malabar Coast in close friendship, so much so that the Portuguese, who were the rivals of the one, became for that reason alone the rivals of the other also. While Gama was waiting for the Zamorin's reply to his king's letter, some Muhammadans and Hindoos conjointly tried to harass the Portuguese captain in a variety of ways. But Gama saw through their fair words and was on his guard, waiting patiently on board his ship during the whole rainy season and occasionally sending some of his men ashore that they might acquaint themselves with every nook and corner of the town. Things continued thus till the month of September when it was rumoured that some big ships were likely to arrive from Arabia. Gama feared an encounter with the Arab fleet, and so he sent a message to the Zamorin requesting permission to sail home, leaving some of his men and goods at Calicut and taking some native commodities with him. The Zamorin seemed not to be well pleased with this petition. He demanded 600 pagodas as customs duties due from the Portuguese and kept Gama's messenger in prison. The Zamorin really wanted to detain the Portuguese ships till the arrival of the Arab fleet and then to crush them utterly. But Gama in the meanwhile was behaving in the most courteous and hospitable way to the native visitors of the Portuguese ships. One day when some magnates of the town had come on board the ship as visitors, Gama heaved anchor and set sail to Lisbon. No act could more irritate the Zamorin and his people than this. A few ships were at once despatched in pursuit of the Portuguese, but Gama threatened to fire upon them unless they delivered up the Portuguese prisoners and Portuguese goods that were left ashore. The Portuguese prisoners were safely delivered into their ships, but Gama retained his native guests on the ground that the Portuguese goods were not surrendered also. Castilian whose sympathies were clearly with the Portuguese was punished by the Zamorin with the confiscation of his property and he sought refuge in Gama's ship. Gama on his way touched at Gokarna, careened and repaired his ships at Anjedeeva, beat off some pirates near Goa, and captured and retained one of them who was a Jew and knew many languages. The return of Vasco de Gama to Portugal and the treatment accorded to him there need not be told here. Many of his country men were seized with a desire to see the new land; and many of them prepared themselves for a voyage to the East Indies partly to satisfy their curiosity and partly for commercial purposes. The king also entered heart and soul into all schemes of trade and commerce with the East, and despatched a fleet of twelve ships under the admiralty of Alvarez Cabral. On the 8th of March 1500 this fleet contained 1,800 soldiers, 8 Franciscan friars, 8 chaplains and a chaplain major—elements of both temporal and spiritual conquests. But Cabral had a special injunction to punish the Moors and the Arabs. Contrary winds blew the fleet of Cabral to the coast of Brazil, a country which was destined to become an important factor in the Portuguese possessions. Having sent home one ship to announce to the King the fact of the new discovery, Cabral sailed to the East. He brought with him a peculiar kind of mango—to this day known in Malabar as the Paranki (Feringhee) mango, pine-apple and guavas and introduced them into Malabar. On his way to India, Cabral's fleet encountered a storm near the Cape, in which four of his ships were lost. With the rest he arrived off Calicut in September, having called at Anjedeeva, on his way. He had brought with him those Malayalies who had been formerly carried away by Gama. Dressed in Portuguese suits and wearing Portuguese arms they were sent ashore to tell the people the tale of their kind treatment by the Portuguese. The accounts of the treatment did much to soften the native feelings towards the strangers. Cabral sent the Jew, whom Gama had captured off Goa, to negotiate with the Zamorin in the name of Cabral and get from him six Brahman hostages to be kept in the Portuguese ships while Cabral and his men landed their goods and exposed them for sale in the local marts. After much doubt and hesitation the Zamorin agreed to do so, and six Brahmins were sent to the ships accordingly. But as they would not eat their food on board the ships, the hostages has to be changed every day. The Portuguese were, however, permitted to trade in peace.

But when the Zamorin began to show favour to the Portuguese, the Moors saw that their case was failing. There were two classes of Muhammadans in Calicut at this time—the old Arab settlers generally known as Mapillas, and new-comers from Arabia, Egypt and Turkey. The Mapillas were well-inclined towards the strangers, so much so that their chieftain and an important personage of Calicut at this time, one Koya Pakkee, sold his shops and warehouses to the Portuguese and executed a document to that effect on a silver leaf. A factory was soon erected on the site of those shops.

While matters were going on in this way the Zamorin is reported to have tested the strength of the Portuguese in this way. A fleet was seen sailing past the Calicut harbour bound for Guzerat as it seemed. The Zamorin in concert with Shamsadeen Koja, a Moorish chief, asked the Portuguese to capture the fleet. He said that there was a war-elephant in one of the ships, which its owner refused to sell even at an exorbitant price and that he wanted to possess it at any risk. Cabral complied with the Zamorin's request. A ship was despatched in pursuit of the sailing fleet with sixty soldiers on board, under the command of Duashe Pachecho. The Portuguese overtook the fleet at Cannanore where the two parties closed on each other in a naval fight. Arrows were showered on the Portuguese ship, while cannon balls were sent flying towards the enemy's fleet. The fight continued for two days when Pachecho seized his destined prey. One of the elephants had been killed in the fight, part of whose carcase was dressed and dished by the hungry Portuguese and the rest salted and preserved.

The Zamorin professed to be highly pleased with the Portuguese valour, but really he felt that the Portuguese were likely to become his most dangerous enemies. The Muhammadan subjects of the Zamorin were offended at their sovereign on account of the preference he was showing the foreigners over themselves, in ignoring his own loyal subjects and calling on foreign help to capture a hostile fleet. They told the Zamorin plainly that the Portuguese were soon likely to cease to be merchants and to become soldiers, and perhaps conquerors of the country. They said that they themselves would soon have to seek elsewhere a more peaceful home where they could be free from foreign interference. The Zamorin consoled them with a sharp reply, nevertheless he felt the weight of their words.

As the Moors bought all the native goods in the market, and as nobody would buy the Portuguese goods, Cabral was able to load but two of his ships. On petitioning the Zamorin he was given permission to compel any laden ship that might be in the harbour to sell her cargo to him at the market rate. The Moors saw that their cause was hopeless. Shamsadeen, their chief, devised a trick whereby he sought to change the mood of the Zamorin towards the Portuguese. The wily Moor went to the Portuguese factor and told him in private that there was a ship in the harbour which had been laden with pepper on the previous night and would sail away to Mecca on the morrow. The factor reported the matter to Cabral who was laid up with a slight fever. Soldiers were at once ordered to go and search the ship. When they reached the ship, her crew who was in concert with the Moors jumped into their boats, and made haste to the shore shouting out that the Portuguese were attacking them and unlawfully driving them away from their ships. At once the whole town was up in arms. All the Portuguese who were seen in the streets were killed. Their factory was besieged; its walls were demolished and may of its inmates killed or wounded. Five missionaries and twenty men of Cabral managed to get on board their ships. Cabral himself remained inactive for one day. Then having caused much destruction to the city by cannonades, and having captured ten Arab ships, he sailed for Cochin with all his fleet and men.

The Raja of Cochin was now not on good terms with the Zamorin. He had been compelled by superior force of arms to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Raja of Calicut, a more powerful prince than himself. Being an old man he had been pressed by his suzerain to resign his Raj and to lead the secluded life of a hermit in accordance with the national custom. The old Raja did not at all like the idea of exchanging the pleasures of the Court for a trying forest life. The Zamorin would not permit him to crown his brother as his successor. Again the Zamorin would call away to Calicut all the soldiers and other citizens of Cochin for his service. The very existence of the Raja of Cochin was a matter of the Zamorin's will and pleasure. Cochin was only waiting for an opportunity to throw off the yoke of Calicut.

On the 24th of December 1500 Cabral anchored off the port of Cochin. As he had on his way captured a ship belonging to the Raja of Cochin he was afraid to land. There was with him one Michael Jogue, a Syrian Christian who had joined the Portuguese missionaries in Calicut and wanted to be taken to Portugal, Cabral sent Michael to communicate with Unni Rama Koil Thirumulpad who was then the Raja of Cochin. Michael requested the Raja, in the name of Cabral to permit the Portuguese to load four ships with pepper. The Raja of Cochin had already heard of the daring and valour of the Portuguese, and he hailed their arrival as an opportune one that would enable him to get rid of his suzerain's yoke. Permission was readily given to the Portuguese to buy merchandise for their ships, also the king requested them to establish themselves permanently at Cochin in the interests of their trade. However, within twenty days Cabral was able, through the help of the Cochin Raja, to load his ships with rich and ample commodities, partly from Cochin and partly from Cranganore.

While Cabral was at Cranganore two Native Christians, by name Joseph and Mathias, came to him begging a passage to Jerusalem and to Europe. They explained to him that they were Christians of the Syrian sect. They told him that their ancestors had from time immemorial settled themselves in Cranganore among Jews, Arabs, Parsees and Moors as traders. Cabral took them with him to Europe a few days after when he sailed off to Lisbon from Cranganore. One of these Christians died at Lisbon; the other lived to see Palestine and Europe, and to write a book about his own mother-country In that book he says that the Chinese had extensive commerce with Malabar in silk, spices, zinc and musk; and that since the Zamorin did them some injury, at the instigation of the Muhammadans, they ceased to frequent the ports of the Kerala and that their ships would come only so far as the present Mylapore on the Coromandel Coast. When Cabral sailed home he took with him a few Nayar subjects of the Cochin Raja.

Two months after the return of Cabral, Joa da Nova anchored off Cannanore with a squadron of four ships. On hearing of the recent hostilities of the Zamorin towards the Portuguese from a Portuguese soldier who had been protected by the Moplah leader Koya Pakkee, he sailed off at once to Calicut and did much damage, to some of the native and Arab ships which he encountered in the local harbour. Powerless to do anything more, he sailed to Cochin and visited the Raja. After reproving Cabral's infidelity in carrying off some of the citizens of Cochin without the Raja's permission, his Highness rendered great services to the King of Portugal. He permitted the Portuguese subjects in Cochin to live in his own palace, when their houses and factories were set on fire by the unrelenting Arabs and Moors of the place. When Nova was despairing in his attempt to load his ships, the Raja of Cochin helped him with pepper and money. Nova soon sailed home touching on his way at St. Helena.

The King of Portugal on hearing of the intractability of the Zamorin, the jealousy of the Moors and the consequent Portuguese disasters, resolved on teaching the Raja of Calicut a lesson at any cost, on driving away the Moslems from the Indian seas altogether, and on spreading the religion of the Cross in the East. Vasco de Gama was once more sent to India at the head of twenty ships and with the proud title of the Admiral of the Indian Seas. On nearing the Malabar Coast Gama encountered a few Arab ships containing many Muhammadan pilgrims of both sexes and of every age. Gama promptly seized the opportunity of revenging himself on the rivals of the Portuguese and enemies of Christendom. The further story of this encounter is indeed terrible. The poor pilgrims knew that their cause was hopeless. To hold their own against the Portuguese fleet was out of the question. Rich presents and bribes were lavished on the Portuguese captain, but it was all in vain. Jaffar Pakkee who had been sent to the Zamorin by the Sultan of Misra or Egypt as an embassy proffered Gama twenty ships filled with the richest merchandise provided that Gama would spare the pilgrims' lives. But religious animosity would not allow Gama to receive bribes from the followers of the false prophet or to allow to pass such a golden opportunity of doing great service to God and

Christendom. The pathetic cries of the children and the heart-rending supplications of the mothers had not the slightest effect on the pious Portuguese Admiral. The brave Gama began his noble attack on the Mecca pilgrims whose unpardonable crime was their religion. The unarmed pilgrims fought for three days with the courage of despair. The Arab ships were captured one by one. Having selected twenty fair boys from among the pilgrims to serve in the convents of Lisbon, he shut the rest in their ships and set these on fire. As the flames rolled on some jumped over board and sought a milder grave; others in the very helplessness of grief and rage hurled at their remorseless assailants whatever they could get hold of. Mothers with half singed faces and limbs held up their half burnt boys and girls and implored for mercy; but it was all in vain. As ship after ship sank to the bottom of the sea and the defenceless pilgrims perished in the flames or beneath the waves,[4] Gama looked listlessly on with self-complacency at his own pious deed. This was only the first of a series of inhuman atrocities that the Portuguese were to perpetrate in the East. No sooner did the report of this horrible deed reach the people of India than they began to despise the Portuguese name and the Christian religion alike. When Gama anchored off Cannanore the Kolathiri or the local Raja expressed his unwillingness to see him; but the Portuguese Admiral would not set foot on Indian soil before he had his revenge on the Zamorin. The Kolathiri satisfied Gama's conscience by building a small pier out into the sea and receiving Gama at the end of it, with due pomp and ceremonial, but Gama began to assume a very haughty tone towards the Raja He demanded from the Kolathiri that all affairs between the Portuguese and the Raja, in connection with commerce must immediately be settled in favour of the former. When the Kolathiri hesitated Gama threatened. The whole behaviour of Gama towards the Raja was so insolent and insulting that the latter had to threaten him that he would report his conduct to the Portuguese King.

After committing many atrocities on all the subjects of the Zamorin with whom he came in contact, Gama arrived in Calicut to do his work of retribution. He demanded that the Zamorin must drive all Muhammadans out of his country. The Zamorin treated the insolent demand with deserved contempt. The Muhammadans were not only ancient settlers of the soil, but also formed a very useful community of over five thousand families of the Zamorin's subjects; and to expel such a people from his country would be at once ruinous and disgraceful. When Gama learnt the hostile attitude of the Zamorin, he was greatly incensed, but pacified himself in a very reasonable way. He seized fifty fishermen and tied them hand and feet together and either whipped them to death or enclosed in bags threw them overboard. But this was not enough. Gama demanded satisfaction from the Zamorin for the outrages committed by the Mussalmans on the Portuguese subjects left in the Calicut factory, and when satisfaction was not forthcoming, more fishermen were seized and hanged, burnt or drowned; and the cynic Admiral sent the limbs of the unfortunate victims as presents to the Zamorin. The town of Calicut was bombarded, and a continuous and destructive fire poured on the huts and houses that were on the coasts. Having caused much damage to life and property Gama posted six ships in the Calicut harbour to cut off the supply of rice to the town. Calicut was then, as it is now, partly dependent on foreign imports for its food-supply, and by keeping them off a famine might easily be created in the town. This devise reduced Calicut to sore straits. But Gama sailed away to Cochin on the 8th of November.

When Gama arrived off Cochin, the Portuguese men that were left there strongly testified to the kindness and loyalty of the Raja of Cochin. Though Gama was pleased at the report of the good offices rendered by the Raja, he grew indignant when the Raja hesitated to fix the price of pepper at a low rate and to grant the Portuguese permission to erect a factory at Cochin. When the incensed Gama abruptly went out from the Raja's presence and betook himself to his ship, the alarmed Raja sent after him with hot speed. Magnifying in his imagination the possible results of a collision with Portugal the Raja readily consented to execute a document granting Gama all his demands.

While Gama was in Cochin he received a message from the Kolathiri of Cannanore stating his willingness to sell the goods the Portuguese required from his country at the Cochin rate in return for the favour and good will of Portugal's King. It is interesting to note that at the instance of the Cochin Raja Gama forbade his men to buy beef from the natives. When three Moplahs brought the carcase of a butchered cow to one of the Portuguese ships Gama handed them to the Raja of Cochin who had them hanged.

An interesting, as well as important fact, which occurred at this time, and which had great influence on the Portuguese history in the East, requires our notice. The Christians of Cranganore sent a representation of their grievances and wishes to Gama. They said that their ancestor, centuries ago colonised Cranganore and had kings of their own, who were ruling over them on authority given to them by the ancient Perumals of the land, and three thousand of them, coming in a body, expressed their wishes to be enrolled as subjects of the Portuguese King. They gave Gama some accounts of Ceylon and of the Church of St. Thomas. They strongly urged Gama to build a fort at Cranganore, advising him that if he would do so the whole country along the Malabar Coast would soon come into Portugal's possession. Gama promised them protection from all their enemies, especially the Muhammadans.

There are many stories about the Portuguese struggle with the ruling dignitaries of Malabar. It is said that one day an old Brahmin came to Gama with two children, one of whom was his son and the other his nephew. Having flattered the Portuguese Admiral the crafty Brahmin expressed his desire that the two children might be taken to Europe and educated there. A sum of 3,000 pagodas was proffered for their expenses, which he paid Gama at once in valuable goods. Gama consented to the proposal and gladly took the children into his ship. But the Brahmin secretly told Gama that he was really the Guru or preceptor of the Zamorin who had sent him to the Portuguese captain to carry on negotiations between his royal pupil and the illustrious foreigner. He assured Gama that matters might be settled amicably if only he would consent to have secret interview with the Zamorin. Gama at once sailed for Calicut in a small ship; and having detained the Brahmin as a hostage, he went on shore and held an interview with the Raja. The Zamorin promptly yielded to the requests of Gama, and it seemed for a moment that the animosity between the two parties were at an end. But it was all a delusion, for the Moors, probably at the Zamorin's instigation attacked the Portuguese at sea and caused considerable damage to their life and property. But Gama put the Brahmin to a frightful death and his corpse was flung into the sea.

Gama soon prepared himself for his return voyage and came to Cochin to bid farewell to the Cochin Raja. The scene of their interview is rather pathetic. The hoary-headed Raja of Cochin shed tears on hearing that Gama was about to leave India. He felt his position to be very unsafe and insecure without Gama's help. He knew that the Zamorin was only waiting for an opportunity to seize his throne. Brahmin after Brahmin had been sent by the Zamorin to the Cochin Raja to instigate him to burn the Portuguese factor and Portuguese ships under his protection. But the noble Raja was unswerving in his loyalty to those who were likely to be of much use to him. He had boldly preferred the Portuguese favour to the Zamorin's pleasure. He had done everything that would provoke the enmity of the Zamorin. Even his own Moslem subjects seemed to grow more and more disaffected towards him for his servile dependence on an alien power. Without Gama's help the position of the Raja of Cochin was desperate. The Raja stated these facts in touching words to the Portuguese Admiral and implored him to remain in Cochin. But Gama soothed his royal friend by promising to render him every help in his power against the Zamorin. Vincent Sodre was detained in Cochin with six ships. Gama after an encounter with the Zamorin's fleet off Pantalayinni, in which he captured a huge gold idol set with precious stones, left India strongly advising the Rajas of Cochin aud Cannanore to be friends with each other.

No sooner was Gama's back turned on Malabar than the Zamorin collected an immense army of over fifty thousand Nayars and compelled the Raja of Cochin to choose between war or surrender of his Portuguese protegés. But that noble prince felt it to be his duty to protect, at any cost the foreigners who had sought his protection. The general opinion of his subjects, however lay in quite a different direction. They argued that the Portuguese were but new-comers into their lands and might therefore be readily given up in favour of the Muhammadans whose connection with themselves dated from times of antiquity. The Portuguese in Cochin trembled for their lives ; but Vincent Sodre, though earnestly requested to remain at Cochin to succour his countrymen in case of danger, could not resist the desire of winning glory by fighting and conquering the Moors and Arabs in the Indian Seas ; and he, accordingly, set sail for the Red Sea. It is not within our province to recount the various feats of arms, brilliant though they were, which the Portuguese achieved outside Malabar ! Suffice it to say that Sodre died in his ill-advised pursuit of glory and renown. Now the only man who might have succoured the Portuguese and the Raja of Cochin was no more. The Kammals or aristocrats of Cochin began to desert their Raja. The Moslems of Cochin were decidedly in favour of the Zamorin. The Raja of Calicut called all his men together and harangued them on the sacredness and antiquity of his tie with the Moslem families of Calicut, and on the urgent necessity of driving away the Portuguese from Malabar, and to this the army and people thoroughly agreed.

The heir-apparent to the throne, however a different view of the matter. Of course he disliked the Portuguese ; but he disliked the Muhammadans more. He knew that they were as untrustworthy as their enthusiasm was short lived. The Raja of Cochin was not the only Raja who favoured the Portuguese. The Kolathiri of Cannanore and Adigal of Vennád were also warm supporters of their cause. To fight with the Raja of Cochin alone, of the three enemies of Calicut, would mean that the Zamorin was unable to fight with the others. Moreover the Raja of Cochin was regularly paying the fixed tribute to his suzerain. So a war with him was at once unnecessary and impolitic. The young Raja laid these facts before the Zamorin's Council, but he had few supporters. The general outcry was for war, and war was declared.

The Cochin Kammals of Cheruvyppin, Kambalam and Edappalli enlisted themselves under the banner of the Zamorin. Cochin Nayars and Muhammadans came by hundreds and thousands to the Zamorin's army. The star of Cochin seemed to be on the wane, and that of the Zamorin on the ascendant. The Portuguese remnant in Cochin prayed the Raja that they might be sent to Cannanore that he might not get into trouble on their account; but the Raja of Cochin took a prince-like view of the matter. He felt that he was in honour bound to protect them. His nephew was sent at the head of about five thousand five hundred Nayars to guard the ferry of Chetwai which the Zamorin must cross before he could set his foot on the Cochin soil. The Royal Zenana and the Portuguese merchants were lodged safely in the island of Vyppin. There was a close and protracted fight between the two armies at Chetwai, but led by the gallant Narayan the Cochin troops gave no quarter to the enemy. For three days and three nights the superior numbers of the Zamorin vainly tried to force a passage across the river. But at last treachery won, where might had failed. A Brahmin of the Zamorin's party managed to buy off the Secretary of the Cochin State for War by a heavy bribe. At his instigation the treacherous Secretary delayed to send provisions for his master's troops. Exhausted by long toil and fatigue the gallant soldiers of Cochin were forced to give way. Many of them were cut to pieces. Few managed to escape with their lives, and the gallant Narayan fell fighting bravely for his country's cause.

His nephew's death was a severe blow to the Raja of Cochin; but his faith in fatalism gave him some consolation. Soon, however, the arms of the Zamorin were seen beneath the walls of the Cochin palace. Inhabitants of the town deserted by thousands to the enemy's camp. The Raja of Cochin could do nothing but desert his palace, and he went to Vyppin where, however, he managed to defend himself gallantly against the Zamorin's forces. Leaving behind a part of his army in the town of Cochin, the Zamorin returned to his capital promising them to return after the monsoons were over. While the men of Zamorin were exulting over their triumphant victory news was brought to them that Frances de Albuquerque had anchored off Cannanore with a squadron of six ships.

Albuquerque learned from the Kolathiri of Cannanore the state of affairs at Cochin as well as Sodre's fate, and he immediately heaved anchor and hurried to Cochin. The Raja of Cochin met the new Portuguese Captain, and a pathetic interview took place between them, in which the Raja of Cochin, having described the state of affairs in his country, and being assured of success by Albuquerque, is said to have wept for joy. When Alberquerque heard of the great services recently rendered by the Raja of Cochin for the Portuguese against the Zamorin, the captain made the Raja a handsome present of ten thousand pagodas. With the arrival of Albuquerque the table was turned on the Zamorin. The Zamorin's men left in the palace of Cochin fled in hurry and confusion. The first thing that Albuquerque set himself to work was the castigation of the disaffected citizens of the Raj. The Portuguese captain and his soldiers rowed up and down the shallow rivers and canals of the Cochin territory, now firing on the neighbouring huts along their course, now besieging a Kammal's house and burning it to the ground, but the muskets and sharp-pointed arrows of the natives also did much destruction to their foreign foes.

Now the Zamorin was under the impression that the Portuguese would leave the country if they could not get pepper, and so every precaution was taken to prevent them from getting this article of export, the Zamorin himself bought up large quantities of the same. Even the subjects of the Cochin Raj were induced to sell their pepper cheaply to the Zamorin, when enormous prices were offered by the Portuguese for the same. The merchants and cultivators pleaded before the Cochin Raja his ceaseless wars as an excuse for their not being able to get or produce the commodity. In this predicament Duarti Pachecho, a gallant youth, was sent into the interior of the country to collect pepper as best he could, and after some fighting, and the loss of numerous lives, he was able to collect a shipload, but this was not enough, and so Albuquerque went farther afield, and betook himself to Quilon.

Now Quilon was a powerful Raj extending from the Pandyan border to the Arabian Sea and from Cape Comorin to the Port of Kayal. Its Raja had even dared to challenge the powerful monarch of Vijianagar to a battle. The title of the Raja was Vennád Adigal. It is said that he had a troop of three thousand female archers. The Nampiathiri or the Prime Minister of the Raja of Quilon received Albuquerque kindly and obtained permission from the Raja to collect pepper from his territory. The Raja of Quilon was an able and dignified ruler, who was neither dominated by priests nor hampered by the Moplahs. There were few Muhammadans in his country; but he ruled over six thousand families of Christians. He did not turn against the Portuguese by listening to the machinations of the Zamorin. He gave them permission not only to collect pepper, but also to build a factory at Quilon. Accordingly a factory was built there under the superintendence of a Portuguese overseer. Meanwhile Native Christians came flocking to Albuquerque begging him to get for them from the Raja of Quilon some political concessions. One of these was that only their co-religionists should sit in judgment over them in judicial cases, but the Raja refused them such a great concession. However, Albuquerque was able to do them some substantial good. He was delighted to see a church which the Native Christians said was founded by St. Thomas the Apostle, and there he left a Dominican Monk, one Roderigo. Twenty men were also left in the factory which was placed under the authority of the engineer who built it.

The Raja of Cochin also, out of gratitude for the valuable services rendered to him against the Zamorin, gave the Portuguese a hilly site at the mouth of the Cochin river to build a fortress. The fortress was soon built of double rows of cocoanut trees joined to each other by iron bands, the intervals being filled with stones and sand.

The Rajas of Cochin, Quilon and Cannanore were faithful friends and warm supporters of the Portuguese while the Zamorin alone was their greatest antagonist in the Kerala land. To fight constantly with a foe who was not only powerful, but also well-supported, would be certainly useless and ruinous in the end, and so at last the Zamorin of Calicut sent a letter to Albuquerque requesting him to forget the unpleasant memory of their mutual relations of the past and granting him permission to carry on unmolested trade in his country. But Albuquerque replied that he would treat friendly with the Zamorin only on these conditions, *viz.*, (1) The Zamorin should give him 9,000 candies of pepper as a compensation for his recent plunder of the Portuguese factory. (2) The Moslem trade with Calicut to be proscribed. (3) The Zamorin and the Raja of Cochin to be friends with each other. (4) The two Italian deserters to be surrendered. The Zamorin consented to all the terms except the last one which he said, was derogatory to his honour. On these terms Albuquerque renewed the trade with Calicut. But a blunder of the Portuguese once more disturbed the peaceful relations so hardly established. Without the slightest cause of provocation some Portuguese sailors attacked and destroyed a native craft. This treacherous deed turned the Zamorin once more against the Portuguese; and he indignantly cancelled the recent treaty of peace.

The rainy season was fast approaching. The Zamorin was making great preparations for utterly expelling the Portuguese from Malabar. The Rajas of Cochin and Cannanore were very likely to go over to his side. The Portuguese were really in difficulties. But they were previously warned of the coming dangers by their faithful Muhammadan friend, Koya Pakkee. No Portuguese had the courage to remain in Calicut. All wanted Albuquerque to take them to Portugal. But the gallant Pachecho volunteered to remain behind and to defend the fortress of Cochin. At once some Portuguese numbering close on a hundred and fifty were transferred to the Cochin fortress; and Albuquerque left India for Portugal on the 31st of January 1506.

The Raja of Cochin began to doubt the loyalty of the Portuguese. Pachecho assured him of his unhesitating assistance against the Zamorin. One Ismail Maracar, a wealthy native of Cochin and a friend of the Zamorin, stopped the importation of rice into the town and spread the terrible news of the Zamorin's approach. Inhabitants of the town began either to run away to distant parts or to desert to the Zamorin's side, and at the instance of Pachecho the Raja of Cochin announced the penalty of death to all deserters from his side.

On the 16th of March 1504 what was feared most, happened. The report of the Zamorin's approach with an immense army spread far and wide over the land. Leaving some sixty Portuguese soldiers in the Cochin fortress Pachecho hurried to the palace of the Cochin Raja to consult with him on the details of defence. The Raja of Cochin had only about 6,000 men at his disposal. Of these 500 soldiers were selected and placed under the command of Pachecho. Other regiments were also formed under the commands of Kandan Koru, Perin Koru and Kaimal of Pallu Thurithi. The Cochin army led by the gallant Pachecho marched off to the Kumpalam ferry. An advance body of the Zamorin's army had by that time managed to cross the ferry and to station themselves at a favourable spot. When the ferry was within sight of Pachecho a Brahmin herald of the Zamorin came and announced the Zamorin's intention of giving battle the very next day. Presently the immense army of Calicut was within the sight of the Cochinites. Regiments after regiments of archers led by illustrious feudatories of the Zamorin came and filled the opposite bank of the river. The large body of 12,000 soldiers led by the Kallât Nambidi was followed by a larger body of 18,000 men under the command of the Raja of Kottayam, 4,000 men under the Raja of Tanur, and 3,000 men under the Raja of Kurivakkoyil brought up the rear. Besides this immense body of 37,000 men there were others numbering close on 20,000 under the commands of less important princes and chiefs. The Zamorin had also a fleet of 160 ships containing about 12,000 armed men on board. The two Italian deserters, whom we have already noticed, had supplied them with a few pieces of artillery of their own make. Twenty ships, each with two guns, were joined together by iron chains. The sides of the ships were lined with thick cotton pads to render them proof against bullets. With this floating house an attack was made on the Portuguese ships. Continuous fire were kept up on both sides. The Cochinites retreated, many of them to distant places where their lives and limbs might be more safe and secure, but Pachecho with the rest held out bravely. When it was dusk the Zamorin's force retired, but the issue of the battle was very indecisive. Both parties lost numerous lives and both were reduced to sore straits. However, the Zamorin's unstrategic retreat gave Pachecho a breathing space and he hastened to repair his loss.

The Zamorin blamed some of the Brahmin astrologers who had predicted that he would certainly succeed in the fight, but they pleaded excuse on the ground that the goddess Kali had not been sufficiently propitiated; and they renewed their prayers and offerings with alacrity. On the next day the two armies met near the Kampalam ferry. The encounter was fierce and bloody and was protracted till the next day. At night, however, some of the Zamorin's ships sailed to Cochin and bombarded the Portuguese fortress, but Pachecho arrived there just in time to save the place from utter destruction. On the whole the issue of this day's fight was also indecisive, but the Portuguese loss was tremendous. On Tuesday the fight was renewed for the third time. This day also the Zamorin imprudently ordered a retreat when he had a great chance of success. It may be remarked that it was owing to the superior discipline of the troops and greater strategic skill of their commanders that the Portuguese were able to defend themselves against such tremendous odds so long.

However the Muhammadans of Cochin and Calicut did not at all relish their enemy's escape. What strength of arms could not do they tried to effect by stratagem. Reports were circulated in the towns of Quilon and Cannanore that the Portuguese were totally defeated and humbled. The disaffected citizens of these places were at once up in arms against the Portuguese that were there and killed or wounded many of them, but when the fact of the Portuguese escape, which was practically a success, was announced, they prudently desisted from further outrages.

The Zamorin, however, did not give way to despair. Once more he was engaged in fight with the Portuguese. He split his force into two parts, detained one part at Kampalam and sent the other to Valanjara. Pachecho found it very hard to defend both places with his handful of men. More than once he was on the point of defeat and destruction. Suffice it to say that in spite of numerous desertions and teacheries in his ranks he once more managed to hold his own successfully against the Zamorin's forces.

Tired of these ceaseless wars the Zamorin at length thought that he might change the camp for the palace. The Zamorin's generals tried to destroy the Portuguese by poisoning the wells from which they took water and by putting snakes within their ships and houses. But all this was in vain. The valour of Pachecho was in every one's mouth, and his merits were amply rewarded by the Raja of Cochin. It is said that some Cherumas and Poleyas of the Cochin Raj struck down some of the Zamorin's men with their spades and axes when they were crossing a ferry. Pachecho on hearing of this incident summoned those Poleyas before the Cochin Raja and asked him to confer on them Nayar titles and privileges. The Raja objected to such a thing on the ground that it would be ludicrous. But Pachecho succeeded in freeing them from the burden of annual tributes which they were bound to pay to their feudal lords and masters, and in getting them permission to wear arms as well as to walk along the paths frequented by the Nayars. One Ismael Maracar of Cochin being suspected of treachery, Pachecho had the hairs of his beard plucked from his face one by one. This deed, though the least horrible of the Portuguese atrocities in India, silenced for a time the treacherous voices in Cochin. One Coja Ali hit on wiser plan of destroying his enemies. He showed the Zamorin how big floating houses may be built on rafters, and how from within which the Zamorin's archers might safely harass the tiny Portuguese ships. This advice was acted on, and the Portuguese were once more in sore straits, but the coming of the heavy rains saved them from complete destruction.

Disgusted with the constant frustration of his plans, now by the cowardice of his men, now by the interference of the elements, the Zamorin gave up all his military attempts in despair and shut himself up in his palace for grief.

Pachecho in the meanwhile punished the feudal chiefs who had behaved treacherously towards the Raja of Cochin and took a terrible vengeance on the Islam population of Quilon and Cannanore for their recent ill-treatment of the Portuguese (to which we have already referred).

When the heavy monsoons were over, Loho Soarez de Albergaria arrived with a squadron of twelve vessels at Cannanore. After an interview with the Kolathiri he was informed by a secret message from the Portuguese prisoners of Calicut that the Zamorin was willing to let them off if only Soarez would keep peace with him. Soarez forthwith sailed to Calicut. Koya Pakkee, whom we have already noticed, came to Soarez with two Portuguese prisoners to negotiate with him on the Zamorin's behalf.

Soarez, however, haughtily declined to come to terms with him unless the Italian deserters were first surrendered. The Zamorin refused to do this and retained the Portuguese captives. Caring little for the comforts of his captive countrymen, Soarez renewed hostilities with the Zamorin. On the 16th of September he sailed for Cochin and had an interview with the Raja. In conjunction with Pachecho, Soarez determined to attack the holy town of Cranganore which was then ruled by a vassal prince under the Zamorin. An account of this ancient and historical town would be interesting.

At the period of our history, Cranganore was ruled by a prince who was a vassal of the Zamorin. In older times it belonged to the illustrious Perumals. The town had extensive trade with foreign countries and was very wealthy. There was a Jewish colony here which could date back its origin to the time of Solomon, or at least to that of the destruction of Jerusalem. It was inhabited also by wealthy communities of Christian, Mussalmans and Vanills or Chetties. It seems that they had a republican sort of government, each community having an assembly of its own consisting of its elected representatives. All matters concerning a community were settled in such an assembly of its own. We saw that the Native Christians of Cranganore requested a Portuguese captain to induce their Raja to grant them the privilege of settling their own civil disputes among themselves. The cause of that request was only the traditional memory of their ancient representative privileges granted to them by one of the Perumals. The commercial prosperity of Cranganore is best evidenced by the fact that the Greeks had a flourishing colony near the town (which they called Mozouris), and the Romans had a small fleet stationed at the port to secure her commerce with the place, and a local temple dedicated to Augustus. But in more modern times its fame had been eclipsed by the growing Calicut and its prosperity had declined owing to the vast accumulation of silt in the harbour.

Now when the Portuguese prepared themselves to attack Cranganore the Zamorin thought that it was his duty to protect his vassal. Accordingly a fleet of eighty ships were sent to Cranganore under the Zamorin's Admiral Meayimain Maracar, who waited in the river near Cranganore for the arrival of the Portuguese. Soarez and Pachecho, by taking a circuitous route, managed to avoid Meayimain, and easily entered the town of Cranganore. The Portuguese captain gave battle to the Zamorin's men before they had expected it. Meayimam and his two sons died fighting gallantly for their master's cause. Many of the Zamorin's ships were sunk or destroyed. Men jumped overboard, made for the shore and sought protection within houses whence they began to discharge arrows towards the enemies. The Portuguese soldiers began to fire on these houses. Many buildings were burnt and many lives destroyed in this way. The Zamorin's forces were at length defeated. At the instance of the Native Christians, the Jews and Mussalmans were expelled from the town of Cranganore. The Jews settled themselves on the other side of the river, and since the day of their expulsion no Jew would spend even a single night in their second Jerusalem across the river.

When the news of the Zamorin's defeat reached ths Raja of Tanur he hailed the event as a good opportunity for shaking off his reluctant allegiance to the Zamorin who was his overlord. He invited the Portuguese to help him against the Zamorin. But in his exaltation over the defeat of his enemy, he forgot the very people who had defeated him; and when one Raphael was sent with a few men and ships for his assistance he sent them back telling them haughtily that he was able to hold his own against the Zamorin.

In December the Portuguese captains began to make preparations for their return. Their ships were laden with rich cargoes and their factories were left in charge of those well able to take care of them. The Raja of Cochin gave Pachecho a letter addressed to the King of Portugal, in which he testified to the valour and loyalty of the young Portuguese Captain. When Soarez and Pachecho were about to sail homeward they heard the news that many rich Moslem families of the northern Quilon, who were emigrating from Malabar owing to the destruction of their trade, were about to sail to Arabia. Pachecho directed his course thither, captured some of their ships and sailed home in company with Soarez

When the Portuguese King heard of the brilliant victories and the glorious career of Pachecho, he inaugurated a new departure in his policy in the East. Hitherto he had only thought of establishing commerce with the East by building factories in favourably situated places. Moslem jealousy had launched the Portuguese in a costly and interminable war with a combination of foes. Nevertheless Islam had great commercial and political influence in the East, while the position of the Portuguese, in spite of their brilliant feast of arms, was most insecure. Utter exclusion of the Mussalman from Indian Seas was indispensable to the Portuguese supremacy. The weakness of the Rajas of Malabar and Pachecho's recent victories over them made the Portuguese King dream of vast possibilities of conquest and empire.' But the realisation of these dreams was reserved for a greater man than Almeida. Dom Francisco la Almeida who was selected as the Captain of the next Portuguese fleet was specially ordered by the King to drive away the Moslem from Eastern waters and to establish fortresses for this purpose at strategic points along the coast. Almeida's career marks a turning point in the history of the Portuguese in the East.

Ormuz and Aden were the first Moslem depôts of Eastern commodities destined for the Venetian markets. To seize these ports would be dealing a fatal blow to the Moslem commerce. The Sultans of Egypt and Arabia, who derived large revenues from the commerce that was being carried on through their countries, would also suffer much. Almeida was ordered to seize, not only their ports but Malacca also. On learning the new and dangerous schemes of the Portuguese King, the Mussalmans sent a representation of their grievances and perils to Hassan Khan, the Sultan of Misra, praying him to avert their impending ruin. The Sultan had a two-fold interest in protecting the interests of the Moslems; firstly, because he was a champion of their religion's cause, and secondly, because he would be ruined if the Portuguese were to carry out their schemes. He therefore promised protection to the Mussalmans at any cost, and at the same time threatened the Pope with the destruction of Palestine and forced conversions of Christians, if the Portuguese did not give up their daring and ambitious schemes. The Pope sent an embassy to the King of Portugal begging him not to provoke the wrath of the great Sultan, but the king would not listen. He sent Almeida to India with fourteen ships and six caravels carrying 1,500 soldiers. Almeida bore, for the first time, the high sounding and the then meaningless title of the 'Viceroy of India.'

Having built a fortress at Quilowa and reduced Mombassa to a tributary state, Almeida anchored off Anjediva on the 13th of September 1505. A fortress and church were also built at Anjediva, and it is said that a cross was unearthed when the ground was being dug in order to lay the foundations. From this it cannot be positively inferred that there were Christians in the island at a very early period; for it is said that the cross was a pagan emblem as well as a Christian.

At the instigation of Timmoya who, though he was a minister of the powerful as well as respectable Raja of Vijianagar, is ignorantly described by some historians as 'a corsair' and 'a pirate chieftain,' Almeida captured the fort of Chintapore, which belonged to the ruler of Goa. But as the achievement, interesting as it is, falls outside the scope of our present task, we shall not dilate upon it.

Before Almeida left Anjediva, he had sent one Homem to Cochin and Quilon to announce the news of his arrival to the Portuguese subjects of these places. When Homem arrived in Quilon he saw that the Portuguese factor of the town had been unable to collect any large amount of pepper owing to the strong opposition of the Moors and Arabs, however he heard, that thirty-four Arab ships, secretly loaded with rich cargoes were anchoring in the roads. He captured the ships, took the sailors prisoners, and removed the cargoes to the Portuguese factory. On his way back to Cannanore whereto Almeida had come by that time, he attacked and seized two Moorish ships, but this was really reverse; for the crew of the captured ships not only managed to rescue themselves from Homem's grasp, but also threw most of the Portuguese sailors overboard and sailed away to Arabia with a part of the Portuguese cargo.

When Almeida arrived off Cannanore, the Portuguese factor, one Barbosa, told the Viceroy that the Raja of Cannanore was quite unable to give him any help in collecting merchandise owing to the strong opposition of the Muhammadans, and recommended the erection of a fortress in Cannanore. Accordingly the local factory was fortified and christened by the name of Fort St. Angelo.

Leaving Lorenzo de Brito with 150 soldiers at Cannanore, Almeida sailed for Cochin on the 27th October. On arriving off Cochin he was informed by the Captain of a Portuguese ship of the tragedy of the Portuguese factory at Quilon. We have already referred to Homem's capture of thirty-four Arab ships of the Quilon harbour. The owners of these ships had complained to the Raja of Quilon (who went by the title of Vennád Adigal) of the high-handed act of the Portuguese Captain, and demanded the restitution of the plundered property which was in the Quilon factory. The Raja sent a man to the factor and demanded the delivery of the booty. Quiet and submissive though the factor was by nature, yet being assured of safety by the arrival of Almeida, he assumed an audacious tone and struck down the Raja's man. The factory was instantly surrounded by the infuriated mob. The factor and thirteen others of his countrymen were burned to death. It was this tragedy that the Captain of the Portuguese caravel reported to Almeida on the arrival of the latter in Cochin. Almeida immediately despatched Brito to take vengeance on the Raja of Quilon. Brito took Quilon by surprise; but he was unable to do anything more than destroy a few unmanned ships that were anchored in the harbour. He struck southward and reached Ceylon. This Brito seems to have been a brave young man. He succeeded for some time at least in keeping the Moslems away from the Malabar Coast.

Now to return to Almeida. At the time of his arrival in Cochin there was a serious dispute about succession to the throne, in the local royal family. The Raja Unnikotha Varmah full of years retired from politics and was spending a secluded life in a temple. Three years before, his two nearest younger brothers had joined their rebellious arms with the Zamorin's, against his own. As a punishment for this traitorous action the retired Raja had crowned his third younger brother as his successor. There was now every probability of a fractricidal war between the new Raja and his two senior brothers. When Almeida arrived in Cochin he was requested by the retired Raja to render every help to his nominee against his rivals. Without much difficulty Almeida rendered the position of the reigning Raja safe and secure by a complete victory over his brothers and rivals. The Portuguese Viceroy concluded a treaty with the Cochin Raja, by which the latter recognised the Portuguese supremacy over his kingdom, while Almeida consented to make an annual tribute to the Raja as his *jewwan* right over the land of the Portuguese factory and fortress. In consideration of the help given by the Portuguese Viceroy, the Raja of Cochin sent an elephant to the King as a present.

The Zamorin for a long time expected help from the Sultan of Egypt, but this help not arriving he ordered ships to be constructed in all his ports,—and this he did by the aid of the Portuguese artisans who had deserted. The two Italian deserters whom we have already noticed, also manufactured over 400 guns, they also gave the Zamorin's men many instructions in the art of firing. These preparations, however, were kept strictly secret. Now one Ludovic of Bologna, an Asiatic traveller, came to Calicut disguised like a Moslem fakir. During the day time he lived among Muhammadans and prayed in the mosque. At night he messed and lodged with the two Italian deserters who recognising him as one of their countrymen, gladly took him with them. Ludovic asked his countrymen whether they were willing to go over again to the Portuguese side, and promised that he would get them a pardon from Almeida. One expressed his willingness to do so, but the other was reluctant. They had both married Muhammadan women and had children by them. Ludovic, however, having learned all the secrets of the Zamorin's preparations, managed to escape to Cannanore in an Arab craft. He also contrived to get a pardon from Almeida for his two treacherous countrymen, and sent them a secret message to that effect, bidding them come over to Cochin or Cannanore without the knowledge of their wives and children. But their preparations for departure betrayed their designs. Suspicion was soon aroused in the minds of all, and the Zamorin sent some men to investigate the matter. As it was found difficult to settle the matter in peace the Zamorin's men besieged the Italians' house and made short work of them in a rather brutal way. It is said that the wife of one sold her son of eight years to Ludovic. for eight pagodas, who had him converted and baptised.

About the middle of March 1506 Lorenzo de Almeida believing that the Zamorin might come to fight with him, sooner or later, collected all his ships together in the harbour of Cannanore. The Zamorin also called his ships together from Calicut, Ponnani, North Quilon, Kappat and Dharampattam. His large fleet consisting of over 200 ships advanced to Cannanore to meet Lorenzo. A naval engagement took place off Cannanore. It was protracted for three days, and in it both sides showed great feats of arms. The Turks and Arabs on the Zamorin's side were brave and trained soldiers and to defeat them was no easy task. All that we can say is that the Zamorin's party had greater numbers and therefore suffered greater loss. The result of the engagement was on the whole in favour of Almeida, but the Zamorin's power was by no means broken. Most of his ships had safely returned to good harbours. They were likely to unite once more against the Portuguese. However Lorenzo Almeida counted the issue of the fight as a decided victory on his side and went to Cochin to announce the fact to his father Almeida who was at this time engaged in the erection of a Cochin fortress.

An interesting event took place at this time. A Nayar who had ostentatiously put himself forward as the opponent of the Zamorin was suspected of treachery. When Almeida promised to spare his life he confessed that he had been sent thither by the Zamorin to compass the death of Almeida and the destruction of his fleet. Almeida kept his promise, the man's life was spared but his eyes were put out.

In the year 506 a total solar eclipse took place, which the Brahmin astrologers of the Zamorin interpreted as a sign of the Portuguese downfall. The news of this interpretation was spread far and wide over the land and readily believed in by all the Zamorin's men. The probability of its realisation seemed all the more likely to be true when the Zamorin succeeded in getting one of his friends to inherit the throne of the Cannanore Raj. The Portuguese doubted the loyalty of the new Raja, and orders were given to the captains of all ships not to trust themselves too far with the new Raja of Cannanore.

The minister of the Raja of Cannanore had sent a letter to the Portuguese King's requesting him to grant him the privilege of sending a few ships every year to Guzerat and Ormuz for procuring horses for his army, and this request had been granted by the King. Still the Portuguese in India were trying every means of preventing any ship from sailing to Ormuz, Aden or Guzerat; and when they insisted on every native captain taking with him a permit from the factor of Cannanore they had some obvious reasons for doing so. The Zamorin's men were also carrying on trade with different parts under false colours. Ludovic of Bologna whom we have already referred to and Brito were authorised to issue permits.

Now one Gonzalo Vaz, the Captain of a Portuguese ship, attacked and seized two Moslem vessels, which he suspected to be without permits. But when the captains of their ships produced their authority, which were truly and duly signed by Brito, Vaz said that the permits were counterfeit ones, and threw the crew and passengers overboard. One of these that were killed in this way, was the son of one Mammali Marakar, an important and wealthy citizen of Cannanore. On hearing of his son's death Marakar strongly remonstrated with Brito and asked the permission of the Raja of Cannanore to take arms against the Portuguese. The permission was granted and the whole town of Cannanore was up in arms against the faithless foreigners. They were besieged in their factory and fortress for four months and were reduced to the utmost difficulties.

Brito sent a message to Almeida who was in Cochin about the state of affairs in Cannanore. The Viceroy immediately despatched ships, with soldiers promising to assist the besieged Brito. He also severely punished that Gonzalo Vaz, whose folly and imprudence had brought about their troubles. The nephew of the Raja of Cannanore was not on good terms with his reigning uncle. He sympathised with the Portuguese and let Brito into the secrets of his uncle's military preparations. Brito was thus enabled to successfully prepare beforehand a plan of counter operations. The Raja of Cannanore caused a big moat to be dug out around the Portuguese Fort to cut off the supply of provisions. He also collected a large army of about 40,000 men and had artillery of over 100 guns. One morning the Raja's troops advanced towards the Fort in twelve columns each consisting of 2,000 soldiers. Cannon were shaking the earth and rockets were thundering in the air. Drums and bugles were inspiring the besiegers. The native archers and soldiers showered arrows and javelin on their enemies, while the besieged retorted with a few cannon balls. Many Muhammadans tried to escalade the rampart walls, but before they reached the top they were hurled back by the defenders. The Portuguese had only a few hundreds of men and their only provisions were a few sacks of rice, a few hundreds of cocoanuts. They had to take water from a well within an arrow's shot from the Fort, and the way to which was won by the loss of many lives. A Portuguese engineer made a subterranean passage from the Fort to the well. When the whole water in the well was brought along this passage to the Fort, the passage itself was destroyed. Their provisions were however soon exhausted. They could not send any ship to Cochin for they were besieged on the sea-side also. They began to live upon cats, rats and lizards, and were soon reduced to sore straits. The enemies set fire to their fortress. Nearly everyone of the few Portuguese survivors was sick or wounded. When they were on the point of surrendering, help came to them. D'Acunha, a Portuguese Captain, arrived off Cannanore with eleven ships. He set fire to the thatched roof of one of the contiguous shops of the bazaar. The fire did considerable damage to life and property, but D'Acuhha was not able to do anything more. The Raja of Cannanore tired of the long and useless siege sent Mammali Marakar to Brito to negotiate for peace. Brito, who was also inclined for peace, sent Marakar to Cochin to lay the proposition of peace before the Viceroy himself. Almeida fell in with the proposition and the Raja gave up the siege. D'Acunha was therefore able to load his ships in peace.

But D'Acunha thought that before he left Malabar he should teach the Zamorin a lesson. Accordingly all the Portuguese soldiers were collected and he sailed for Ponnani at the head of 600 fighting men. Kutti Ali, the Zamorin's Admiral, also gathered together a large number of ships and men and waited for D'Acunha in the shallow harbour of Ponnani. The fight that ensued was indecisive in its results. D'Acunha captured some forty guns and set fire to the town of Ponnani, but the Portuguese also suffered considerable loss. Eighteen soldiers were killed and many more wounded. However, D'Acunha gave up the fight and sailed for Portugal touching on his way at Cannanore.

We have already remarked that the Sultan of Misra promised the Moors and Arabs of Calicut that he would protect their commercial interests from the Portuguese encroachments. The considerable loss of revenue which the Sultan himself suffered on account of Portugal's armed monopoly of Eastern Commerce, made him open his eyes to the situation of affairs. He began his preparations for the task of expelling the Portuguese from Eastern waters. Large timbers were broug [illegible] his capital at considerable cost from the heights of Leb [illegible] and first-rate men-of-war were built by Venetian shipw [illegible] A fleet of eleven ships was soon despatched to Malab [illegible] the command of Meer Hussain. Meayimain Mara [illegible]

Zamorin's envoy to the Sultan and the bitterest opponent of the Portuguese, accompanied the Egyptian armada. Strengthened on his way by the addition of some Turkish pirates who joined him off the coast of Guzerat, Meer Hussain's fleet steered for Chaul.

In Chaul at this time there were some Portuguese ships under Lorenzo Almeida, the son of the Portuguese Viceroy. Though more than once warned of the impending danger from Egypt by Timmoga, the young captain felt himself so safe and secure that he was amusing himself on shore by mock-feats of arms when the alarm was given of the approach of the Saracen fleet. A sudden panic seized all the Portuguese soldiers, before they could get on board their ships, Meer Hussain took a safe position up the Chaul river and began to pour a destructive fire on the Portuguese ships. The position of the Portuguese became worse when some fresh Turkish ships joined Meer Hussain's fleet. Almeida saw that all hope was gone, and all that he might do was to effect a safe retreat, but the ship on board which he was, was fixed fast in the shallows of the river; and the heroic youth was struck down by the enemy's fire.

On hearing of his son's death, the elder Almeida shut himself up in this house for grief for three days. When the mourning was over he began to make preparations for his revenge on the Muhammadans. He sailed to Cannanore to consult with Brito on the matter. But by this time Alphonso de Albuquerque had arrived off Cannanore from Ormuz. He had the royal orders to supresede Almeida in the viceregal office. His ships, when they arrived off Cannanore, being first mistaken for a Turkish fleet, Almeida ordered an attack on them, but the mistake was soon discovered and Albuquerque landed safely at Cannanore. He at once demanded that Almeida should resign the Viceroyalty, but on his pleading his desire to avenge his son's death, Albuquerque gave way.—and Almeida went to meet the Egyptian fleet off Anjediva. The Zamorin's ships had already joined the Muhammadan fleet. In the encounter that followed Almeida scored a complete victory, and treated the vanquished with great cruelty. When Almeida, on his return to Cochin, was requested by Albuquerque to resign his viceregal office, he flew into a passion and again refused to do so. TheRaja of Cannanore refused to have any official dealings with Almeida on the ground that he was the ex-Viceroy. Almeida, in the madness of his indignation, arrested Albuquerque and sent him to Cannanore with orders for his immediate imprisonment. Almeida had a regular indictment of 104 counts framed agains Albuquerque, but the timely arrival of Fernandes Contiuho the Portuguese Marshal and a relative of Albuquerque, set the latter free and brought Almeida to reason. Immediately handing over the Viceregal charge to Albuquerque, Almeida left India on the 29th October 1509. His tragic end in an African island is too well known to need any detailed mention here.

The King of Portugal had especially ordered Albuquerque to destroy the town of Calicut. The Raja of Cochin had also been trying his best to bring about an utter collapse of the Zamorin's power. He saw that the wars between the Portuguese and the Zamorin would shift the centre of trade from Calicut to Cochin, and so instigated the Viceroy to take up arms against his suzerain. A Brahmin spy was despatched to Calicut to ascertain the state of affairs at the Zamorin's Court. He returned with the news that the Zamorin was absent from his capital on account of petty wars against some of his vassal princes. The opportunity was seized by the Portuguese as the fittest one for their purpose. Albuquerque and Continho set out for Calicut with 2,000 Portuguese soldiers and 600 native archers. Continho took the command of the army into his own hands. The Portuguese easily took the Zamorin's palace as it was practically unguarded at the time. A regular plunder began. All the ancient treasures, all the precious gems and jewels, all the gold and silver, were seized upon by the greedy plunderers. While the soldiers were thus engaged in plunder, the old Continho, tired by his long march under a tropical sun, slept soundly for two hours in the Zamorin's palace and on the Zamorin's bed. But he was rudely roused from his sound sleep by showers of sharp arrows, and he saw at once that the palace was surrounded by a large number of archers before whose pointed arrows, Continho's men were either dying or fleeing. Continho himself and many of his men were struck down by the arrows. Albuquerque who had been all the while fighting the Nayars in the bazars and in the port of Calicut, coming to the relief of the beleaguered, the surviving few were able to escape to their ships. Albuquerque also received a severe wound and had to be carried on a shield to his ship.

The next event in due chronological order, which we have to narrate in the history of Portuguese India, is the capture of Goa. But as the incident falls outside the province of our present subject, we will pass it over, simply remarking that in 1510 Albuquerque took Goa, with the help and at the instigation of Timmoya whom we have already referred to, but he had to leave it again after three months' occupation.

After the Goa incident Albuquerque arrived off Cannanore on the 15th of September 1510, but his presence was soon needed in Cochin. Consequent on the death of the eldest Raja who, as we have already remarked, had retired from the active world to lead a hermit's life, there was a fratricidal war among the rival claimants to the Cochin throne. It was the traditionary custom of the Cochin royal family that if a Raja leaving the cares of his State died in the forest as a hermit his successor to the throne must instantly resign his Raj in favour of his immediate junior and embrace asceticism like his predecessor. But Unni Rama Koil of Cochin preferred palace to forest, and was unwilling to resign the government in favour of his brother. His brother therefore insisting on the observance of the traditionary custom applied to the Zamorin for help against the usurper. This brother, as we have already seen, had once before opposed the Portuguese, with the help of the Zamorin in connection with the succession question. The Zamorin sent him help; and with a large army the prince lingered in the islet of Vyppin, but the Portuguese did not want an enemy of their own on the Cochin throne. At the instance of the Brahmins of the court and women of the zenana, Unni Rama Koil was about to give way to the influence of tradition, but Nuno Vaz de Castello Branco, the Captain of the Portuguese Fort, interfered and urged the Raja to break down the trammels of custom and resist the claims of his rival, promising help in case of trouble. With a small army he proceeded to Vyppin to prevent the enemy from crossing the river, but his force was not strong enough to enable him to give immediate battle to the enemy. On the 22nd of September Albuquerque joined Branco at Vyppin, and the strength of their combined forces was enough to beat back the enemy. Unni Rama Koil was secured on his throne in spite of custom and tradition.

Albuquerque's next endeavour was to recapture Goa. In this he met with serious opposition from his soldiers and officers. The policies of Albuquerque and Almeida were diametrically opposite to each other. The ambition of Almeida was to secure his country's commercial supremacy in the East by erecting forts at strategic points along the coast of the Indian Ocean. But the star of commerce did not loom large in the horizon of Albuquerque's ambition. The ablest man and perhaps the greatest figure in Portuguese Asia, Albuquerque had gigantic schemes of territorial conquest and political dominion of enriching his country by an eastern empire and benefitting Christendom by carrying off the bones of 'The False Prophet' from Medina. All the soldiers and officers, whom Albuquerque had alienated by his overbearing disposition, supported Almeida's policy and won even the Portuguese King to their side, but Albuquerque did not desist from working at his schemes in spite of royal orders to the contrary. Goa was recaptured and the Portuguese supremacy firmly established in that town which was destined to become soon the capital of Portuguese India.

Important results accrued from the conquest of Goa. The harbour of Goa was one of the finest in India. Its central position in the west coast was the fittest for a maritime people. A fleet in the harbour of Goa could command the whole trade along the west coast of India. But Albuquerque was not content with Goa alone. Having reduced to subjection the chiefs of Malacca and Moluccas he sailed north-west to capture Aden which was one of the two keys of eastern commerce, but he failed in the attempt. Before Albuquerque left for Aden he had been successfully negotiating a peace with the Zamorin of Calicut. Both parties were tired of their ceaseless as well as useless mutual wars. Both parties saw that they would be more profited by peace than by war between themselves. An envoy was sent to the Zamorin to settle the terms of peace. The Zamorin consented to give the Portuguese a part of his customs revenue and a site in Calicut for a fortress on condition that Albuquerque would allow him to trade freely with Arabia and Egypt. Peace was concluded on these terms. The place chosen for the Fort was the site of the old palace of the Zamorin, in which Continho was killed. When Albuquerque turned his back on Malabar and the Zamorin heard of the internal dissensions among the Portuguese themselves, the Raja of Calicut began to show evident signs of reluctance to carry out the terms of the treaty above mentioned. When Albuquerque learnt that the Zamorin was trying to evade the terms of the treaty, he forthwith returned to Calicut, but on the way he heard that the Zamorin was dead and that his brother had succeeded to the throne. The new Zamorin had no dislike for the Portuguese and did not hesitate to give the promised site for the Portuguese fortress.

The Portuguese alliance with the Zamorin was not at all relished by the Raja of Cochin, because to him the rise of Calicut seemed to be the fall of Cochin. The conquest of Goa was in itself a cause of commercial loss to Cochin. Now permitting the Zamorin to trade freely with foreign countries was likely to make the loss greater. Some Portuguese men in Cochin, and especially the Missionary Joan Fernandez also did not relish the idea of keeping peace with the Zamorin. They drew up a petition to the King of Portugal, protesting against the policy of Albuquerque, but the Viceroy was not in the least daunted. He himself went to Calicut and visited the Zamorin. A treaty was concluded on the following terms :—(1) The Portuguese were allowed to buy pepper in Calicut giving in exchange Portuguese goods. (2) The Zamorin was to give e Portuguese factor of Calicut about twenty tons of pepper annually at the Cochin rate of price. (3) The Zamorin was to pay half his customs revenue to the Portuguese treasury. (4) The Zamorin was to make reparations for the damages done to the Portuguese factory in Calicut in the times of Cabral. 5) In return for this Albuquerque permitted the Zamorin free trade in the Indian seas. The Zamorin sent to the Portuguese King rich presents and also a letter praising the character and ability of Albuquerque. This letter had its intended effect, it nullified the protestations of Albuquerque's opponents.

It is a puzzle how the new Zamorin yielded to all the demands of Albuquerque while his predecessor had stoutly refused to do so. The fact may be probably this, *viz.*, that the new Zamorin realised that the jealousy of the Moslems towards the Portuguese involved him in costly and unprofitable wars which nearly ruined his country. He also knew that to be friends with a rising people would be more profitable to him than to support the tottering Moslem commerce. The Portuguese arms seemed to be carving out an empire in the East and the Portuguese nation bidding fair to be the rulers of India. Under these circumstances which were more fanciful than real the Zamorin thought that it would be more advantageous to him to make peace with the Portuguese.

In the month of February 1515 Albuquerque led a second expedition against Ormuz. The importance of this lies in the fact that 600 Nayar soldiers were employed by Albuquerque on this occasion. The credit of discovering the efficiency of Indian soldiers, when drilled and disciplined on the Western model, is given, by some historians to, Dupleix, but as we have just now seen Albuquerque had long before benefited himself by this discovery. While earlier still Pachecho and Almeida had more than once employed native soldiers and archers in their fights, but those soldiers and archers were in the majority of cases neither drilled after the European method nor commanded by European captains. These improvements were most largely introduced first by Albuquerque. Almeida too had done something in that way, but it was not much.

The increasing fame of Albuquerque made his envious opponents hate him more and more. They tried to bring about his ruin by working on the jealousy of the King. They informed his Majesty that the Portuguese Viceroy would soon eclipse Portugal's King. On his way back from Ormuz, Albuquerque learnt that his master had sent Lopez Soarez to supersede him in the viceregal office. He was full of years and his health precarious. He, moreover, felt much anxiety on account of his sons, for whom he had made no provisions, but he recommended his son to the care and kindness of his patron and lord the King of Portugal whom he had served so long and so faithfully and meritoriously.' When he reached Goa he sent for a priest, made his confession, and gave up the ghost on the 19th of December 1515 at the age of sixty-three. He was Viceroy for ten years and his term of office forms a memorable decade in the history of Portuguese India.

Albuquerque was a God-fearing, truth-loving, and liberal-handed man. His honesty and love of justice were so publicly admitted that one day when a man requested from him a loan of three pagodas, he could in right earnest pluck three hairs from his beard and give it to the man telling him that he might pledge it with any one and get the money required, at the same time he was excessively cruel. The dark and horrible deeds of Albuquerque are too many to be briefly recounted. The license of his times may extenuate his crimes; nevertheless we cannot easily exonerate him from his brutal deeds. It was undoubtedly on account of Albuquerque's far-seeing work, during his term of viceregal office that the Portuguese power in the East did not collapse as soon as it might otherwise have done. In Albuquerque's time and by Albuquerque's exertion the Portuguese power in India attained its climax. From his death we have to trace a steady decline of Portugal's star in her Asiatic horizon of commerce and empire.

Soarez, the successor of Albuquerque, was neither a great nor a good man. His foolish deeds and insolent conduct alienated from him all classes of people.

He sent an envoy to the Court of Agi Pandara, the Regent Mother of the minor Raja of Quilon. He got by bribery and treachery the consent of the Regent Mother to an absurd agreement between the Portuguese and the Raja of Quilon on the following terms:—

(1) The Raja was to give the Portuguese a ton of pepper annually in compensation for the loss they had sustained ten years ago in the Quilon tragedy which we have already narrated. (2) The Raja must rebuild St. Thomas's Church which had been burnt at the same time. (3) The Raja must guarantee protection to the Portuguese subjects in his territory from the hands of the Muhammadans.

It is needless to remark that this treaty was contemptuously cancelled by the young Raja as soon as he attained his majority. In the vanity of his success at Quilon, Soarez assumed a very haughty bearing towards the Zamorin. He asked his Highness to come and see him in the Portuguese factory at Calicut. When this insolent demand was of course contemptuously refused by the Zamorin, Soarez prepared himself for a war against the Zamorin. But his officers told him that they would not take arms against the Raja of Calicut for such a silly cause. This mutinous declaration brought Soarez to his senses. He went and saw the Zamorin in his own palace.

Soarez next contemplated the desertion of Goa; for he thought that peace being made with the Rajas of Malabar there was no necessity for a fortress at Goa. But the encouragement given by Albuquerque to intermarriages between Portuguese men and low caste native women had created in Goa a large number of married settlers with their hybrid descendants. They so strenuously opposed Soarez that the latter had quietly to give up all idea of leaving Goa.

There was a strong rumour at this time that the Sultan of Egypt, whose fleet had been destroyed by Almeida, was preparing for a fresh expedition against the Portuguese in India. On hearing this rumour the Portugnese King despatched an order to Albuquerque to proceed at once with a fleet to Aden and deal a heavy blow to the Moslem power on both sides of the Red Sea. The order arrived too late; the fittest man for its execution, Albuquerque had been gathered to his Pathers a year ago at Goa, and the task of the expedition was readily undertaken by the incompetent Soarez. A fleet was soon got ready, and with 3,000 Portuguese soldiers and 500 native archers the foolhardy Viceroy sailed off to the port of Mecca. But the powers of nature, acting conjointly with the arms of the Mussalmans, forced Soarez to hasten back to India, having lost much and gained nothing.

Before his departure to the Red Sea, Soarez had sent one Roderiz to force the Queen of Quilon to carry out the terms of the recent treaty between herself and the Portuguese. When Roderiz demanded the delivery of pepper, and the rebuilding of the local Church, the Regent Queen succeeded in putting him off till her return from a compaign against the Raja of the neighbouring State, Travancore.

When the Regent Queen of Quilon was engaged in this campaign, the news spread far and wide in her land that the Turkish Sultan had completely routed the fleet of Soarez in the Red Sea, and that Adil Khan had nearly retaken his capital of Goa. The anti-Portuguese population of Quilon gladly embraced this opportunity of revenging themselves on their foreign foes, and in a short time the few Portuguese left in the town were closely besieged in their houses. The timely arrival of the peace-loving Queen in her capital effected a compromise between her turbulent subjects and the weary Portuguese.

In 1518 Soarez's three years term of office expired and

Diogo Lopes de Sequira succeeded him in the Viceregal office. Soarez had intended on expanding the house or factory at Quilon into a fortress; but he had to leave India before he could accomplish his intention. Sequira now undertook the task; and Roderiz was asked to get by fair means or foul the consent of the Ranee. Accordingly the Ranee was presented with a purse containing 4,000 fanams, but she told Roderiz that serious opposition from various quarters would have to be encountered before she could consent to Sequira's dangerous scheme. The minor Raja and the ministers of the Court did not like the idea of allowing a foreign power to establish itself so strongly in their capital. The opposition was silenced by the diplomatic skill of the able but corrupt Ranee, and the work of the fortress began. The Ranee faithful to her words, or rather to the bribes she received, also rebuilt the Christian Church of Quilon which had been demolished some years ago.

During the time that Sequira was in his winter quarters in Cochin he heard one day that there was a fight in the neighbourhood between a vassal of the Zamorin and a vassal of the Cochin Raja. As Sequira was witnessing the fight a Portuguese soldier joined the Zamorin's rank, seeing which the Cochin party showered arrows upon Sequira and his men. As they were quite unprotected, many of them were wounded or killed and the rest fled to their fortress.

Sequira was altogether a bad and incompetent man. He was guilty of many atrocities which we would do well to pass over in silence. He was more of a pirate captain than a Viceroy. On one occasion he seized and plundered some Arab crafts without any cause for provocation. At another time he grossly violated the treaty of peace his predecessor had concluded with the Zamorin. The Raja of Cochin led an army of 50,000 men against the Zamorin who met his enemy in the field with 200,000 men. During the fight that ensued between the two forces, Sequira joined the ranks of the Cochinites and helped their Raja in beating back the Zamorin's men. Sequira was dismissed by his King on the Zamorin's reporting to the latter the Viceroy's unjust violation of the peace between Portugal and Calicut. Duarti Menezez was his successor.

After a glorious reign of twenty-three years King Emmanuel of Portugal breathed his last in the year 1521. His successor John cared more for religion than for commerce or Empire. He gave orders to the Viceroy and Governors of the Portuguese India to desist from wars and spread the religion of the Cross. If John liked war but little, Menezez, his Viceroy, liked it less. When Menezez came to India he was sorry to see that the whole Muhammadan population of the West Coast was up in arms against the Portuguese. The pirate forays of the Mopjahs and Moors were causing considerable damages to Portuguese life and property. The fact was, the unprincipled Sequira and his still more unprincipled subordinates had been molesting the Muhammadans in every way, and what Menezez saw with regret was only the necessary reaction. Before Menezez arrived in India, the Zamorin, who had concluded peace with the Portuguese was dead. His successor was of such a nature that he would rather risk his own life in protecting his subjects than win an empire by cajoling his foreign foes. He was a man of action; he loved war and he hated the Portuguese. The inhabitants of Calicut were more uncompromising in their hatred of the Portuguese than the Zamorin himself. When a Portuguese captain appeared in the bazars of Calicut he was hooted and pelted by the mob. When some Portuguese ships arrived off Calicut they were seized and plundered by the native Muhammadans. Kutti Ali of Tanur loaded eight ships with pepper and spices and sent them to Arabia under the very nose of a Portuguese captain. With 160 ships he came to Calicut and attacked the local Portuguese fortress. When a Portuguese captain went to complain to the Zamorin of the high-handed acts of the Muhammadans he was turned ignominiously out of the palace. Hundreds of Christian women were forcibly carried away, converted by the Muhammadans; Menezez could not give them any help against their enemies. While the Muhammadans were preparing themselves for the extirpation of the Christians in Cranganore, Menezez took no action. This state of things, however, was not to continue for long. When the hostilities of the Muhammadans and the helplessness of the Portuguese against them were reported to King John, Gama was once more sent to India as the Viceroy of Portuguese India.

The work of Gama in Malabar was a series of cruelties. His ruthlessness alienated from him even his own countrymen. Many Portuguese soldiers, for fear of Gama, fled away to Zelinga or to the Coromandel Coast and became followers of Muhammad. It may be remarked in passing that this is not the first occasion on which we hear of the Portuguese men being converted to Muhammadanism. Hundred of Portuguese had, in the times of Soarez, Albuquerque and Almeida, embraced the Moslem faith as well as married Moslem women. Gama, however, succeeded in maintaining peaceful relations between the Portuguese and the Rajas of Malabar. He also punished some of the Moplah pirates who had committed various ravages on the Portuguese ships in the time of Menezez. He died on the 24th of December 1524.

Henry Menezez succeeded Gama in the viceregal office. He hanged a pirate chief of the name of Bala Hassan, destroyed the Zamorin's fleet in the harbour of Ponnani, did some damage to the town of Calicut and burnt the port town of Pantalayini. After these achievements he went to Cannanore and gave the Raja a letter from King John. The purport of this letter was that the eight isles off the Malabar Coast, which were in the possession of the Portuguese, would be given over to the Raja if the Raja would undertake to supply the Portuguese with 100 kandies of coir every year, this offer the Raja declined.

So unflinching was Menezez in his hatred of the Zamorin, and the Muhammadans, that his next attempt was to create an artificial famine in Calicut by cutting off all rice supply to the town, from the north. A fleet of four ships was stationed in Mangalore to intercept all rice traffic to the port. The merchants who were carrying rice in their ships defeated the Portuguese fleet off Mangalore and managed to sail away many miles southward, but before the merchantmen reached Mahé, another Portuguese fleet attacked and detained them. In consequence of this act of Menezez, there took place in Calicut long and severe fighting between the Portuguese in the local fortress and the Zamorin's men, but the artificial famine in Calicut created by Menezez brought the Zamorin to his knees. He applied for peace; and peace was offered on very insulting terms. The Zamorin was to give up his whole fleet, to repair the delapidated church at Cranganore, and to surrender some of the Portuguese fugitives at his court. The Zamorin could not, and did not, accept peace offered on such terms. He forthwith sent a large army to beseige the Portuguese fortress in Calicut. This memorable siege was a very long and obstinate one. There were only some 300 Portuguese soldiers inside the fort, while the besieged numbered close on ten thousand. The Zamorin's army was commanded by a mechanic who was a foreigner and a convert into Muhammadanism. The besieged were under the command of John Lima. Just when the siege began the Portuguese subjects in Calicut removed all their wealth and provisions to a safe place within the fort and destroyed their houses. The story goes that when the siege had continued for some weeks the Zamorin appeared before the fort with one hundred thousand men and walking thrice round its walls asked his general 'Do you take so long to get at so small a thing?' The general replied to him that that small thing was enough to give him many years' trouble. Before long the Portuguese inside the fort exhausted all their provisions and were reduced to sore straits, not however before one of their number managed to escape to Cochin and inform the Portuguese Viceroy of the situation of affairs in Calicut. Menezez at once despatched to Calicut two ships filled with provisions for his besieged countrymen. When the ships arrived off Calicut their captain found it very difficult to carry the provisions into the fort, but one day, in the dead of night, when the main body of the besiegers were fast asleep he managed to take to his country-men a part of the provisions he had brought for them. The captain also managed to get back into his ship, but his besieged countrymen had forgotten to give him some important despatches that had to be sent to the Viceroy. These were, however, folded and tied to an end of an arrow and thus shot into one of the Portuguese ships anchored in the harbour. Lima soon got further provisions, and Menezez himself came to Calicut on the 15th of October. There was at this time a rumour that a Turkish fleet destined for an attack on the Portuguese was on its way to India, and if this rumour was a true one it would no longer be safe for the Portuguese to have their forces scattered here and there. Menezez therefore thought that the Calicut fort might be deserted and the forces employed in its defence, used to ward off the danger from Turkey, he therefore ordered all the moveable wealth and belongings of the Portuguese to be removed from the fort to their ships. When all was ready on board the ships the fort was blown up by gunpowder. Thus, in 1525 Menezez deserted the town which Gama had first visited twenty-six years ago, and which had cost Portugal so many lives and so much money.

K. RAMUNNI NAIR.

ART. III.—THE LANGUAGE QUESTION IN GREECE.

THE art and habit of recording thought in writing distinguishes the civilized man from the barbarian. Well known, indeed, are many of the traits by which the man of culture, directly by virtue of his habit of reading and writing, is marked off as different from the unlettered boor. But yet this habit produces many other great results that usually are not estimated at their full value. One of the more noteworthy of these is the fact that in nations where the use of letters is intense and constant the inhabitants become bilingual, or, to use a term which may be more proper, diglossic.

Without here inquiring into the causes, it may be stated as a historic truth that in the past ages of culture few men, or none, have ever written lengthy treatises in a language constructed entirely and exclusively out of words and expressions adopted from the genuine conversational tongue of the unlettered classes. And, furthermore, no man when conversing about the small affairs of daily life employs the carefully selected words and constructions which by a kind of acquired instinct he is forced to use when he undertakes to perform a literary feat. This phenomenon cannot be adequately appreciated by scholars who live in countries where all the inhabitants if not themselves actually more or less educated by means of letters, are continually under the direct influence of lettered men. But inability to appreciate the magnitude of this phenomenon does not necessarily engender a desire to deny its existence. The man who never learned writing and composition often feels himself incapable of dictating an ordinary note even when in his own modes of expression he is fully able to communicate all the successive statements which he wishes to be incorporated therein. His helplessness in such cases consists not in ignorance of what he wishes to express, but in the consciousness of his not knowing the phase of language which is proper for the written document.

The phenomenon of diglossy does not suppose that the inhabitants of one and the same locality speak two languages so unlike as to be conceded by all to be entirely distinct, as, for example, where certain communities of Germans or French in North America speak not only a variety of English, but also a variety of their ancestral Teutonic or Latin tongue. These colonists cannot by reason of the retention of their mother tongue, in addition to their acquired faculty in English, be said to be merely diglossic. They are bilingual out and out. Diglossy simply supposes that in a given community the phase or quality of language used by the educated classes is notably different from that of the lower strata of society; or, again, that the written language of the educated classes is different from their spoken language, because of their tendency in written language to imitate more ancient or classical composition, while in spoken intercourse they keep closer to the mode of speech in vogue among those who are not educated. However, the difference between these two phases of one and the same basic language may sometimes become so wide that this diglossy does actually merge into bilingualism.

Wherever diglossy exists it is correct to say that each phase of the language continually disturbs the other phase. The language of the educated class does not cease to adopt words and phrases and constructions and modes of pronunciation that had hitherto been exclusively the property of the language of the uneducated; and conversely, the uneducated classes similarly borrow and assimilate expressions that had been coined in the more aristocratic mint of the educated. Perhaps the ideal is realized in proportion as the efficiency of this reciprocal influence is effective in keeping the two phases of language near to each other and in preventing the rise of bilingualism.

Although the prevalence of diglossy is an indisputable and well-known fact, especially to students in linguistic research, its psychological causes have not yet been thoroughly investigated by scientific inquiry and have not yet been expressed in simple formulas which the layman might easily comprehend. Fortunately these causes are not the chief matter in question in this present essay. Sufficient here is the fact that diglossy is already a recognized element worthy of linguistic, psychological, and sociological research, and that it is beginning to claim broader attention from the votaries of these sciences, and especially from glossologists. Prof. Hermann Paul's investigations in this direction serve as one instance. In his admirable book on the Principles of the History of Language,* this noted professor refers at length to both forms of speech and discusses the relations which the standard common written language of any given people bears toward the ordinary spoken tongue or to the dialects which make up the spoken tongue.

There are two kinds of diglossy. These may be distinguished from each other by the terms "homochronous" and "historic."† When a nation or people, on account or having a past literature of which it is proud, and which has come to be regarded as classical, consciously and intentionally models its official and social language in conformity with this past literature, then the diglossy is of the historic kind. But in so far as diglossy arises from the bare fact that independently of all conscious historic motives, the educated man speaks differently from the uneducated one by the simple reason of his indulging in different and more complex sets of thoughts, it is homochronous only. Homochronous diglossy flourishes in every community where there exists a class of men, who, on account of their dignity in state, or religion, or wealth, or knowledge, or other kindred preeminence, form a higher and exclusive society, who in their mode of expressing thought, as well as in other respects become more careful, more conservative, more deliberate than the struggling lower classes. Practically this kind of diglossy is always historic as well as homochronous, for those who, under the influence of homochronous reasons, are not unconcerned about the artistic and other virtues of the language which they employ, are, at the same time, under the influence of historic reasons, prone in speaking and writing to imitate fixed and acknowledged models of their literature.

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* Principles of the History of Language, by Hermann Paul. Translated from the second edition of the original by H. A. Strong, London, 1888.

† Chatzidakis, Περὶ τοῦ γλωσσικοῦ ζητήματος ἐν Ἑλλάδι. In the Ἀθηνᾶ, II, p. 173. Athens, 1890.

In past ages of civilization it has occurred more than once that the breach between the literary idiom and the spoken language of great peoples gradually grew so impassably wide, that such individuals as knew only the one phase of the language could neither address nor understand those who employed the other. It has happened that the state and the priesthood and the school adhered rigidly to a certain ancient style of language as classic or sacred, while the people at large, unrestrained by the conservative force of education, continued to modify their manner of speech year after year according to phonetic and other glossic laws. Not to mention other more remote instances, we have the Latin and the Italian, which long existed side by side, the one as the medium of culture and government and religion, while the other was the language of the tradesman, the private individual, and the family.

Historic diglossy has for many centuries been rampant among the Greek-speaking races. On account of the linguistic and literary eminence of the Greek language this diglossy has been and still is a choice topic for dispute amongst philologians. For the Greeks themselves the question is one of prime importance since it is not separable from many other national and historic interests of theirs. To a foreigner its attractiveness is of a very different kind, save in so far as his philhellenic inclinations may lure him into being interested in every thing Greek; it is the peculiar psychological and philological aspects of the case that claim his attention.

The two phases of language that constitute the diglossy of the modern Hellenic race are now usually distinguished as "demotic" and "katharevousa." Demotic is the common speech of the mass of the people; katharevousa is the official medium and the language of written composition. The relation between the two is very much misunderstood and misinterpreted, not only by some eminent foreign scholars, but even by many educated Greeks themselves. The demotic has a testy set of hot advocates and the katharevousa has a whole army of followers; and, as is always the case in the East, these rival advocates see nothing of good in the views of their opponents. The defenders of demotic use every possible weapon, honest and dishonest, to dethrone the katharevousa from its position of honor, and in turn many of the purists leave no means unemployed to heap obloquy upon the users of the "vulgar" tongue. Foreigners who take a hand in this fraternal war between demotic and katharevousa may be regarded as being meddlesome; all such have been warned off by native champions on either side of the dispute. Still, from a scholarly point of view, every question is open to every investigator. The present sketch is intended for other outsiders, who may like to know what is being done to settle, or rather to keep abroil, this important dispute.

All discussion that endeavors to discern the most efficient means for the solution of the difficulties occasioned by this diglossy, and of making the demotic and the katharevousa come closer together, belongs to a yet unwritten chapter of philology. The principles involved lie in a part of the domain of linguistics not yet honored by exhaustive research. Glossology has focussed most of its illuminating rays upon the study of spoken language and has chosen to leave written composition in comparative darkness, deeming it worthy of notice only in so far as the written forms serve to recall the spoken tongue or where the forms used in written discourse happen to be identical with those of spoken language. The reciprocal relations and obligations of demotic and literary languages are not yet indisputably determined.

Speaking loosely and figuratively we say that language is continually in a state of growth. But when we make this statement we express a conviction formed by observations made in regard to spoken language. Whether literary language as distinct from vocal speech also grows or not is a different inquiry, which indeed may likewise be answered in the affirmative, but its growth is not in all respects coordinate with the growth of spoken language. The language employed in the rude creations of primitive poetry and oratory cannot well be widely different in morphology and syntax from the contemporary oral speech or some dialect thereof. But as soon as a literature worthy of universal reverence has been created and recorded, from that time on does historic diglossy begin to exist. For it is of the nature of the admirers of such a literature that they should be desirous of imitating it whenever they speak on topics akin to those recorded in the literature, and especially when they themselves undertake literary composition. Thus it comes to pass that succeeding generations of ambitious writers and careful speakers look to their approved and idealized predecessors as models in language rather than to their commonplace contemporaries. In this way a class of more learned and influential inhabitants is formed, who prefer to employ the model language of literature.

The illiterate classes cannot be imagined as entirely free from all the restraints that literature places on the language of the educated. The literary idiom, by its influence on the language of the uneducated, retards many of the perpetual changes which untrammeled vocal speech is heir to. Accordingly, language that possesses a literature does not develop just in the same way nor with the same rapidity as the savage dialects that are entirely unincumbered with such a precious burden. The briefest study of our own vernacular language will bring some proof of the fact that literature shackles the rapid changes that speech is otherwise liable to. We cannot assert that our English language of to-day is "growing" in the same glossological sense as we can say that the ever-changing languages of the wild natives of Africa are "growing." Nevertheless, our language is probably growing more vigorously than theirs, but with a very different and nobler kind of growth increasing in quantity and accuracy rather than simply undergoing phonetic changes. Let us make the strange supposition that all those who speak English were to lose their literature and all their other written documents, and henceforth were never to read again, they and their children, forever. Then, from that time on the English language, freed from the despotism of letters, would immediately begin to "grow" luxuriantly.

The investigator can defend or condemn modern Hellenic diglossy only after becoming acquainted with the entire history of the language that the Greeks have used in spoken word and written page since classic antiquity down to the present day. In Kuhn's Zeitschrift for 1888 Dr. Paul Kretschmer, in a treatise on the linguistic peculiarities of such inscriptions as are read on old Attic vases, has collected a number of interesting examples that indicate the striking differences between the literary and the popular idioms of Attika in ancient times.*

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* Ueber den Dialekt der attischen Vaseninschriften. Von Paul Kretsch-

Kretschmer's inscriptions show that within the narrow limits of the single city of Athens, and at the time when the Attic language was in the zenith of its perfection, a clearly discernible diglossy existed. This ancient disagreement between the demotic and the literary language was not merely a number of variations in syntactical construction and a difference in vocabulary, but included, also, more noteworthy morphological divergencies in the forms and types of words.

From statements made here and there in the writings of the old authors it can easily be deduced that the Athenians themselves were not ignorant of the difference between their artistic language of literature and the careless language of the multitude. In a treatise on the constitution of Athens, which, although it is usually incorporated with the works of Xenophon, seems to be of unknown authorship,* it is recorded that the Athenians, in consequence of their continual intercourse with other men, "hear every kind of speech, and from one man's discourse they adopt some special peculiarity and from another's some other mannerism; and while the other Greeks speak a language native to themselves, the speech of the Athenians is made up of contributions from all the Greeks and all the barbarians."† In his letter to Q. Ælius Tubero, "On the characteristics and peculiarities of the writings of Thoukydides," and in his second letter to Ammaeos, "On the peculiarities of the writings of Thoukydides," we have the judgment of Dionysios of Halikarnassos, an eminent critic who lived in the first century before Christ, in testimony of the artistic and artificial character of the language of this admirable historian. He finds fault with Thoukydides for using words and phrases that were not commonly understood and were in need of interpretation, others that were obsolete, others that were proper only for poetical composition, and others that were foreign to the Attic dialect. These criticisms refer directly to the historian's language.

Athens had become a world city, and it is to be supposed that in the variegated underclasses there flourished a mixed and corrupt dialect. Athens possessed a multitude of slaves much more numerous than its population of free citizens. In his book called "The Deipnosophists," Athenaeos quotes from the chronicler Ktesikles concerning a census made in Athens in the year 309 B. C., under the direction of Demetrios of Phaleron. According to this census, the population consisted of 400,000 slaves, 10,000 resident strangers, and only 21,000

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mer. In the Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der Indogermanischen Sprachen. xxix (1888), pp. 381—483.

* Bergk, Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur, iv, pp. 238-239.

† (Xen.) Respub. Athen, ii, 8.

native Athenian citizens.* Very few of these slaves were of Attic blood. Most of them were not Greek at all.† Therefore, neither the Attic dialect nor any other kind of Greek was their native form of speech. They certainly contributed greatly to the corruption of the spoken language. All members of Athenian families were in close and daily communication with these slaves from childhood to old age. The pedagogues, under whose continual care young boys were placed, were always chosen from among the slaves, and therefore were often foreigners. Platon mentions two such pedagogues, and refers to their "barbarous" way of speaking Greek.‡ Accordingly, when, in a dialogue between Sokrates and Alkibiades, Platon teaches that the people of Athens are competent masters in the Greek language, he must be interpreted as referring not to the entire mass of the inhabitants, but to the limited class with which Alkibiades was accustomed to associate.§ Ancient comedy sought at times to draw humor from faulty or foreign pronunciation. It also employed such methods of pronunciation in order to expose its victims to ridicule or disgrace. Two extant fragments from lost plays of the comic poet Platon are especially to the point. In four lines from his "Hyperbolos" we read that the noted demagogue of this name, whose father was a foreigner and a slave, did not pronounce like other Attic citizens.‖ And in his drama called "Keophon," the mother of this busy politician was introduced under the name of "Thrassa," and was made to speak, not like an Athenian matron, but after the manner of a woman from Thrake.¶

Long before the great epoch of literary activity at Athens, which is represented by such masters of prose as Thoukydides and Platon and Demosthenes, and by such poets as Aeschylos and Pindar and Sophokles, the language of inspired composition had become different from the language of daily life. At the very dawn of Greek literature the immortal Homeric songs, which the unknowing may think to have been composed so artlessly, present a mixed dialect which is highly artificial and which never was spoken anywhere. Of this fact, otherwise patent enough, we have the glossological testimony of Professor Brugmann, who finds that a proper expression to name the

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* Athenaeos, Deipnosophists, vi, 272 b.

† Büchsenschütz, Besitz und Erwerb im griechischen Alterthume, pp. 116—119.

‡ Lyses, 223 a.

§ 4 Plat., Alkibiad., 111 a-b.

‖ Kock, Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta, I; Plat., frag., 168.

¶ Scholium to Aristophanes's Frogs, 681.

Homeric language by is the term "Kunstdialekt."* From its origin down to the present day the literary language of Greece has had a career of its own akin to that of the spoken tongue, but separate, nevertheless. As soon as it came into existence it started out to fulfil its own purposes, which were not just the same as those of oral speech. True it is that the literary language sprang from the spoken tongue, but, like many another child, it after a time came to possess rights equal with those of its parent. Fortunately, however, it never ceased to be influenced more or less by the spoken language, except, perhaps, in the middle ages, and in turn was not without influence upon its parent. Complete harmony between the demotic and literary phases of a language can never be realized. Such harmony would be necessary if languages were in a state of ideal perfection. But we are here concerned not so much with what is perfect as with what is historically a fact.

Certain languages of the past are commonly described as "dead." This expression, like many others that have been employed in this study, is not literal, and often is misinterpreted. It may indicate not so much the condition of the language in question as the condition of our knowledge in regard to it. Ancient Greek is not dead in the same manner as is the speech of the ancient Hittites. We know that there once existed a Hittite language, simply because it has been discovered that a Hittite people once existed, and we necessarily suppose that they possessed a language. But with the ancient Greek the case is entirely different. It has not been entirely lost. In its written form it has been preserved to us just as truly as has been preserved to us the English of the century that has just closed. The ancient spoken Greek has been preserved in so far as it is contained some way or other within the written dialect.

The preeminent political and literary importance of Athens in classic days, and the artistic beauty of the rich, expressive and precise language which the Athenian writers created and employed, gave occasion for Attic language as well as Attic style in composition to be gradually adopted as model by nearly all Greek writers, even by those who lived and wrote afar from Athens, in Italy, or Asia, or elsewhere in the Hellenic diaspora, and who in ordinary conversation spoke a tongue, or at least a dialect, very different from the Attic of Athens. There were worthy exceptions indeed, but not many. An apposite illustration of this growing belief in the eminence of the Attic dialect and its common acceptance among all Greeks as the universal medium of culture and refinement may be found in the words which Thoukydides reports Nikias to have said to his soldiers in the harbour of Syracuse in the year 413 B.C. Wishing to encourage his men, who were about to fight a hopeless but necessary battle, he first addressed those that were Athenian citizens, and then turning to the allies, who were Greeks from other countries, he said that "they should remember that although not Athenians they could boast of being regarded as such, and that on account of their knowledge of the Athenian dialect and Athenian customs they were an object of admiration throughout the other parts of Greece."*

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* Griechische Grammatik (1890), p. 21.

Then, in the latter half of the fourth century before Christ came the vast military expeditions and victories of Alexander the Great. The most important result of the conquests of Alexander and his successors was that the Hellenic type of civilization and the Hellenic language became common in many of the newly-conquered countries. The language was propagated through the medium of army and government and schools and theatres and gymnasia and other Hellenic institutions which the conquerors introduced. These non-Hellenic nations, who thus became Hellenized, learned the common Attic rather than the other local dialects of Greek, and learned the written type of Attic rather than the colloquial forms that were peculiar to Attika. Thus, in this new and vast Greek world the written Attic came to be the model, not only for literary composition, but also for the spoken tongue. And it would seem that, theoretically considered, the gap between the spoken and the written form became quite narrow for a time. But since the great mass of those who learned to speak the imported language were outside the pale of education and far from the influence of schools, the gap soon began to widen, and from that time down to the beginning of the present century there happened no event of sufficient moment to cause the gap to be again closed up.

The language which thus became universal from the beginning of the fourth century before Christ was, although Attic in origin, in many respects different from its prototype. From the fact that it was the only type of Greek which could be regarded as in no way merely a local dialect it came to be designated by the new name of "Kœne," or "common tongue," and under this name is it known in the history of literature.

The differences between the Attic and the Kœne are in part explained by ordinary linguistic and psychological laws, and in part by the fact that the Kœne first took shape not within Greece itself but in countries beyond the limits of pure Hellenism,* chiefly in Egypt and Asia Minor. From these countries it finally rolled back into Greece itself; where the first noted employer of this new type of language was Polybios, the historian. Words and phrases which were exclusively and extremely Attic began to disappear, giving way to more commonplace expressions, or to more simple ones. Rare and irregular grammatical forms were gradually dropped, and were replaced by new forms constructed according to an apparently more logical analogy. The useless dual number disappeared. A preference for diminutives unconsciously grew up. These innovations, and others of a similar nature, finally brought the written Kœne to differ considerably from the Attic.

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* Thouk., vii, 63, 3.

There is a divergence of opinion among critics regarding the merits of the Kœne. Many pronounce it much inferior to the Attic. The truth is that a great amount of literature was produced in it, much of which deserves no high praise. But inferior literature does not necessarily presuppose inferior language. An unprejudiced critic may experience no difficulty in agreeing with M. Emile Burnouf, who, in his history of literature, teaches that in many respects the language of Polibios, who flourished in the Græco-Roman epoch, was superior to that of Thoukydides and Xenophon.†

The creation of much worthless literature in the Kœne gave occasion for a new school of rhetoricians and writers to arise, who seeing nothing of good in the language and style of contemporary literature, advocated a linguistic renaissance, a return to the methods of those who centuries before had written in the dialect of Athens. These are the so-called Atticist. Among these regenerators of the past there were many scholars and writers of high value. Although they had a number of worthy opponents, yet they succeeded in making their opinions prevail. From the time of Augustus down to the reign of Alexander Severus, and even later, they gave the tone to Greek language and to Greek and Latin prose literature.‡ One of the most celebrated of these Atticists was Dionysios of

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* Chatzidakis, in Ἀθηνᾶ, viii (1896), p. 169.

† "La langeu grecque et le style de Polybe sont tels que les avaient faits les trois siècles d'élaboration que l'avaient précédé. La langue grecque avait * * * perdu ce que lui resistait encore de raideur, et avait acquis une flexibilité inconnue de Thucydide et mème de Xénophon. Polie par une sorte de frottement continuel dans les assemblées publiques, dans les écoles des philosophes, dans le commerce et dans l usage quotidieu des gens instruits, elle n'offrait plus aucune résistance à la pensée, et permettait de tout exprimer avec une facilité merveilleuse." Histoire de la Littérature Grecque. Paris, 1869, vol. ii, p. 311.

‡ Cf. Schmid, Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern. Stuttgart. 1887—1893, passim.

Halikarnassos, who wrote in Rome in the first century before Christ. Fortunately most of his writings are extant.

A near and natural consequence of this attempt to rehabilitate the style and language of the Attic writers of a past period was the necessity of accurately fixing the limits of that model period, of determining with certainty when it began and when it closed, and of knowing in an authoritative way the relative merits of the various writers that flourished during that period. Accordingly scholars set to work to discover who of the ancient writers were worthy of being regarded as model and who were not so. The works approved by these critics were then put forward as "canons" or models for other writers and students. Lists were formed containing the names of such authors and their works. These lists also were called canons, like the writers whose names they contained. Canons of the various classes of poetical literature began to be made as early as the third century before Christ. The canon of the ten orators seems to have originated with the grammarians of Pergamon and perhaps as early as about 125 years before Christ; but the first clear mention of it is in the writings of the grammarian Cæcilius who lived in the Augustan age.* The other canons that interest us here, as for instance that of the historians, may have originated in the Augustan age.

The effects of the decision of these critics have been lasting and great. As soon as their opinion began to prevail, readers ceased to demand copies of such authors as were not listed and approved in the official canons, and accordingly these unfavored authors have most of them been lost; no one asked for them in the bookshops, and there was no incentive for copyists to reproduce them. It is from these Atticists and their teachings that the whole world has learned to regard certain Greek authors as classic. We usually do not inquire whether our judgment would agree with theirs or not, if appeal from their decision were made to us, and if the lost authors were to be found again. Agreement, however, is quite probable. Yet it is proper to think that the selection of a classical epoch and the exclusion or admission of individual authors, whose works lie in disputable borderland, may present serious difficulties. The acceptance or rejection of such authors is always a matter of subjective and personal choice.

It is not hard to find a justifiable excuse for the reverence which these Atticists felt toward the period which they designated and named as classical. When all Greece was under the depressing weight of foreign rule, first that of the Macedonians and later that of Rome, the noble-souled among the Greeks ooked to their glorious past for the exemplar of everything exalted and good in their race. In language, therefore, as well as in other respects, they sought their ideal in ancient Athens. They had either to renounce the idea of having a model, or logically to turn to the noblest one within easy reach. Their action is worthy of respect, for the old Attic was not yet far off from language of their own day. The gulf over which they had to leap in order to unite themselves with the ancient writers of Attic should be measured not by the years of its existence but by the ease with which the leap could be made.

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* Christ, Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur. München. 1808, p. 368.

But Atticism occasioned the widening of the breach between the language of the educated and that of the humbler classes. For while the Atticists emulated the language of Demosthenes and Xenophon, there was no one to care for the education of the populace, and their language naturally went ~~on~~ "growing." Whether the growth was toward perfection or disintegration is a question. Nevertheless the literary language, both in its Atticistic and in its more common form, continued to exercise restraining influence on the spoken dialect, for it was through the literary language that the Government and the new Christian religion communicated with the people. The "growth" was therefore less free than in foregoing epochs of equal duration; but the discrepancy continued to increase, and finally there arose a long series of writers who cut loose entirely from the oral language and who took little notice of the language in which people talked.

With these complete separation there came a greater need for grammars and lexicons. The beginnings of grammar go back, indeed, to the fifth century before Christ. Much later, in the second century, under the influence of the principles that brought the Atticists into existence, grammar was crystallized into the form which it retained throughout all the ages down to the beginning of the present century. The first of these text-books of grammar seems to have been that of Dionysios Thrax. This small treatise is still extant. When men are compelled to study grammar in order to learn how to speak and write properly, then literary language is highly artificial, and diglossy is of a very pronounced type. The grammar of Dionysios and the other grammars that were composed at that time or shortly after, either as independent works or based on the grammar of Dionysios, prove how difficult it then was for the Greeks to learn to write after the Attic models. In the first centuries of our era grammar became a conglomeration of mechanical rules, which sometimes entered into details concerning the proper use of individual words and phrases which it would take a lifetime to master. How burdensome and how intellectually useless such studies were is immediately evident to anyone who takes the trouble of reading a few pages of the "Kanones" of Theodosios of Alexandreia, which were written toward the close of the fourth century of our era.

Still more than by the grammars is the existence of diglossy in those ages proven by the number and quality of the lexicons then in use. The beginnings of lexicography, like those of grammar, date from the fifth century before Christ, but copious dictionaries come into use only in the Roman period. In the Deipnosophists, a lexicon of Attic words composed by Philemon of Athens, is several times referred to. If Philemon lived before Aristarchos, as Robert Weber maintains,* then his collection of Attic words is the first lexicon concerning which any notice has been preserved. Of all the mass of lexicons that were then written, there remain extant the dictionaries of Harpokration and Polydeukes, the Attic words of Moeris, the lexicon written by an undetermined author who is known as Antattikistes, and excerpts from the lexicon of Phrynichos. All of these works belong to the first and second centuries of our era. From that time down lexicons were a matter of necessity, and not only were these copied and remodelled and used throughout all the middle ages, but many others were written. These lexicons and grammars finally served a useful purpose by being taken as the model and basis of the first dictionaries and grammars of Greek that were composed for western Europeans when, after the passing of the middle ages, Hellenic studies were revived in the West.

In regard to the demotic language the following recapitulation may now be made. In modern times the demotic and dialectic forms of language are in many countries accorded an honorable place in certain kinds of more popular literature. In classic Greek, however, and especially in Attic, the demotic hardly ever came up into book literature. Even in Attic inscriptions of a more careful kind the language is not demotic. Still these inscriptions often give most trustworthy information about variations in spelling and pronunciation. Tradition has not interfered and introduced corrections and modifications here as in the manuscripts. Accordingly, from the information gathered together and systematized by Meisterhans† and others, and from such researches as those of Kretschmer's mentioned above, and of Schwyzer's study on the language of the Attic imprecation tablets,‡ it is possible to collect some slight knowledge concerning the demotic language of ancient Attika.

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* De Philemone Atheniensi glossographo, in Comm. Ribbeck. 441—450.

† Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften. Dritte Auflage. Berlin. 1900.

‡ In the Neue Jahrbücher, 1900, pp. 244—262.

With the rise and propagation of the Kœne the demotic language entered upon a new period of its history. The numerous ancient dialects gradually died out. Although the modern demotic and its many dialects have not been all sufficiently studied for us to know just what relations they bear to the ancient language, yet the most reliable authorities confidently say that none of the old dialects have survived down to the present time,* with the exception of sporadic remains here and there, and the exception of an old Spartan dialect which is still apparent in the Tsakonian language of the inhabitants of Kynouria, along the east slope of the Parnon mountains.† The modern dialects seem, therefore, to be descended not from the ancient dialects, but from the literary Kœne.

From the age of the Atticists, when the literary language divorced itself from the spoken tongue, down to the twelfth century, this new demotic, which sprang from the Kœne and which superseded the ancient local dialects, remains almost unrecorded, in its pure form. The oldest samples of it are given in certain inventories and other documents referring to matters of business, which have been found among Egyptian papyri; the earliest of these specimens were written in the second century before Christ.‡ From the first centuries of our era we possess a few specimens furnished by inscriptions. Then in Byzantine literature short excerpts from the vernacular language are occasionally to be found. But if all the brief and unsatisfactory samples of the pure demotic preserved in the extant documents of these thousand years were to be collected together, they would fill only a few pages. Professor Psycharis and others furnish us with an index of the most important of these specimens.§

Besides the scant information collected from these few specimens of demotic, additional knowledge regarding the colloquial language of the first two or three centuries of our era is furnished in an indirect way by the "aphorisms" or bans which the Atticistic lexicographers and grammarians pronounce against words and constructions that are not found in the classic writers. Whenever these guardians of the ancient forms of speech warn their readers against certain usages, it is logical to suppose that the warning was necessitated by the actual prevalence of the unapproved expressions in the language of ordinary men.

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* Chatzidakis, Ἀθηνᾶ, II (1890), pp. 154—159, and III, pp. 253—258; and in his Einleitung, p. 48.

† Deffner, Zakonische Grammatik, Erste Hälfte. Berlin. 1881.

‡ Krumbacher, Geschichte der Byz. Litteratur (1897), p. 190.

§ Psichari, Essais de grammaire historique neo-grecque, I, p. 23-24; specimina vetustissima.

Likewise whenever the "Antatticist" defends certain words against the bans of the Atticists, we may have reason to suspect that these words were then in vogue in the written language at least, if not also in the spoken.*

That the demotic did not in those days grow into a language entirely different from the literary Kœne is a wonder. During the Christian ages perhaps the greatest factor in holding the spoken demotic so close to the written Kœne was the influence of the church. The ecclesiastical language was one of the common bonds between the higher and lower classes of people. The eastern church, by being a conservative and aristocratic institution, closely allied to the civil government in spirit and interests, gave to the State the example of preserving as its official language that form of the Alexandrian Kœne which had been made sacred in the writings of the first promulgators of Christianity. At the same time, by being the organ through which Christianity acted, the church continually and sympathetically came into intimate conversation with each and every individual of all classes of people, and kept every Christian's ears filled with words and phrases of the ecclesiastical tongue. The case is not parallel with what took place with the Latin language in the west. For although in a similar manner the western church kept to the literary Latin and at the same time kept in similar contact with the people, yet the Latin church used the Latin language, not amongst Latin men, but amongst races who were not conscious of having a Latin soul, and whose native language was often not Latin at all. If we take the word "Roman" in its mediæval sense, we may say that the eastern church was both Roman and Hellenic, Roman by its being the eastern division of the great empire, and Hellenic by the language of its people and other circumstances. But we cannot say that the western church was correspondingly Roman and Latin; it was simply Roman. Moreover, the difference of ritual between the Latin and Greek liturgies did allow the Latin Christian to sate his ears and soul with hymns and doxologies and troparia and lives of saints in the ancient and unchangeable language as did the Greek rite. Other causes also contributed, but perhaps in a less degree. The government, the tribunals of justice, the army, and especially the schools which were a kind of succursal to both church and state, aided largely.

In contrast with the meager remains of the mediæval demotic of the Byzantine empire stands the great mass of writings which fully indicate to us the nature of the language which was used as the literary medium. This literary Kœne of

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* Chatzidakis, Einleitung, p. 67, and pp. 285 ff.

Byzantine times was to a remarkable degree a language of tasteless imitation, from the sixth century down to the fall of Constantinopol. But it was still plastic and capable of serving high literary purposes whenever by marvellous exception some one attempted to use it for more genial themes than dogmatical polemics or spiritless chronicles. Aside from the virtues or defects of the medium, it is hard to use any language artistically when such are the topics. But after all, the literature of Byzantion is not entirely an arid waste.

The rivalry which for centuries existed between the East and the West created in the minds of the savants of Europe the habit of despising the products of the Byzantine intellect. This prejudice was long effective in keeping scholars away from Byzantine research. Only in these later days has due attention been called to this quite unexplored field. Byzantine literature cannot be respected in the same way as is the classic literature of antiquity. Nor should any man desire to see it serve purposes similar to those served by the ancient literature in universal education. Byzantine literature first began to be conveniently accessible when in the year 1648 a series of histories and chronicles began to be published in Paris under the direction of the learned Jesuit, Philippe Labbé. Unfortunately this excellent edition is now difficult to find, and students of Byzantine affairs are obliged to turn to the more complete but less careful Bonn edition, which was begun in 1828, under the warm recommendations of the historian Niebuhr. The study of European languages and literature and history could not become a complete whole so long as the Byzantine age and empire were unduly neglected. Accordingly, the unbiassed demands of philological science have prevailed; and now there are a number of eminent Byzantinologues whose names and works may be learned from the Byzantine Magazine,* edited by Professor Krumbacher, of Munich. And amongst these students of Byzantine affairs there are some who devote their attention chiefly to the language, both demotic and literary.

After it had become customary for literary men to employ the traditional language, there wrote from time to time men who, although really continuing to write in the ancient Kœne, yet yielded in some points to the spoken tongue of the common people, and took up a number of peculiar constructions which had been developed in the spoken language. This contamination from the demotic began to appear more clearly in the sixth century, and from that time on. It might be properly called a popularized form of the high Kœne. It is in principle identical with the written language of Greece of to-day. Probably it was not very different from the spoken language of the educated at that time. By collecting and classifying the new phenomena that appear in these authors, it is possible to show that many of the peculiarities of the demotic language of the present day were already common in the spoken language of that remote age. An excellent study of this kind made by Chatzidakis proves that the Greek language had then already changed its phonetic qualities, its syntax, its vocabulary, the significance of many words, and even certain types of words into the forms in which these various phenomena appear in the spoken Greek of to-day.* This mixed language is to be found in the Chronicle written by Ioannes Malalas, of Antioch, possibly in the reigns of Justinian† and his successor Justin II.‡ Malalas was almost as uneducated as a man could be who would undertake to write. He composed his work not for the educated but for the people and the monks. Both in style and in language he is uncouth and free from all ability to produce a work of art. He could not have written in a language greatly different from the spoken tongue, even if such had been his desire. Accordingly his work is a precious monument for the study of the colloquial language of the sixth century.

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* Byzantinische Zeitschrift, herausgegeben von Karl Krumbacher. Leipzig.

It was natural for Malalas to write in a language as near as possible to the demotic, since he wrote for the unlearned. His chronicle seems to have had wide circulation and to have been popular for centuries both in its original form and in epitome. It served as the model for a long series of chroniclers, who continued the kind of historiography of which Malalas was one of the pioneers. Accordingly, most of them wrote in a language very near to the common demotic for the two reasons that such was the language of their model and that such was the language best suited to the readers intended. Thus, in another extant chronicle written by the monk Theophanes,§ which is a record of events that happened from the year 284 of our era down to the year 813, is a similar language employed. The language of Theophanes is indeed not of such a humble and unartistic kind as that of Malalas, yet, like this language of Malalas, it possesses a vocabulary and syntactical structure and also a few morphological peculiarities that render it quite easily distinguishable from the higher Kœne.

In the following century there appeared a number of works which are connected in some way or other with the Em

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* Πρώτη Σύμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἡμῶν γλώσσης. Πεντηκονταετηρὶς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου. Athens. 1888.

† 527-565.

‡ 565-587.

§ Died about 817 A. D.

Konstantin Porphyrogennetos.* Some of these works he seems to have simply caused to be written or compiled, and others he himself may have composed. Those which the emperor inspired simply are for the most part encyclopediac compilations from older works, and the language in these compilations is often that of the original writers. But in the works attributed to the aided or unaided authorship of the emperor himself† the language is the popular kind used by Malalas and Theophanes. He not only freely borrowed from the demotic, but departed so far from the usage of the purists as to even introduce at times foreign words—Slavic ones, for instance—when they perhaps were in vogue locally as the names of certain objects.

The same tendency as that of these chroniclers to compose in a simple and popular language also appeared in other works intended for use among the people, as, for example, in the synaxaria or pious legends referring to the lives of the saints; but in most of the writings of the educated the old language was employed. The demotic language of the chronicles and synaxaria first received a place in literature during the almost inexplorable period of ignorance that is defined as beginning about A. D. 650 and ending about A. D. 850. This is the most unknown period of Byzantine history. During all the subsequent ages the simple language continued to assert itself but not as the language of the educated. With the return to culture which followed these two dark centuries there came a return to the older type of Greek, especially to the Alexandrian. The first great name to be mentioned in this connection is that of the Patriarch Photios, whose language is notably archaic. From the age of Photios began the renaissance which bore so much literary fruit in the reigns of the Komneni and the Palæologs. The language of this renaissance was the ancient type of Greek.

This traditional Kœne was familiar only to the writers who used it and to others of their own class and of like education. The common man did not readily understand it and the soul of the common people no longer found congenial expression in it. In consequence there burst out from among the people a new variety of literature, written not in this classical idiom of churchmen and scholars and statesmen, nor even in the middle tongue of the successors of Malalas, but in a language based entirely on the demotic. And from the eleventh century on there flourished among the Greek-speaking peoples the phenomenon of the cotemporary existence in literature of three forms of language.

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* Reigned from 912 to 959.

† These are such as The History of Basileios I, De administrando imperio, De caerimoniis.

Although similar phenomena exist and may be observed to-day in the language of nearly all civilized countries, yet our attention is seldom convincingly drawn to this fact, and we are liable to be incredulous. In English literature America furnishes a ready illustration in proof of the existence of different strata of language; for in America there are writers of cautious and conservative style, who follow the older models and try to produce a classical type of English; then there are the writers in many of the daily journals, where a middle language is employed; and finally there are the writers of short stories and poems, who often employ the local demotic or dialectic forms.

It might not be difficult to collect abundant literary testimony concerning the wide difference between the higher variety of the written language and the dialects which the people spoke. For instance, the learned Michael Akominatos, who became archbishop of Athens about 1175 A.D., complains that the inhabitants of this once famous city could not understand him. But a chain of such testimony would be superfluous, for we have sufficient extant specimens of the demotic beginning with the eleventh century, and can, by actual observation, note the difference between the spoken dialects and the scholarly language. It is impossible here to name even the most noteworthy of these specimens. Only two or three of the most ancient will be mentioned.

As early as the end of the tenth century there grew up a number of legendary songs which celebrated the deeds of a hero called Digenes Akritas, a chivalrous Byzantine warrior and adventurer of the type of the French Roland or the Spanish Cid. These songs were collected and patched together by schoolmen in such a way as to constitute a continuous epic narrative. At least four such aggregations are known to exist. Although the original language of these songs has been modified by the scholars or rhapsodists who welded them together into these four kindred epic tales, yet they are a precious document for the history of the popular language.*

One of the primitive writers in modern demotic, whose works and whose name have been preserved, was Theodor Prodromos. On account of the poverty, with which he was afflicted for his entire life, he called himself "Needy Prodromos" or "Ptochoprodromos," and under this name is he most commonly referred to. Ptochoprodromos wrote in both the classical Kœne and in the vulgar demotic, if he be the author of all the works that have been attributed to him. The writings in classic Kœne that go under his name are composed in good style conformably to the spirit of the Komnenian renaissance, and in a language much resembling that of Loukian. His writings in demotic are chiefly four petitions in verse—in the first of which he beseeches from the Emperor Ioannes Komnenos* assistance and relief from his poverty; in the second poem he asks for this same favor from a sebastokrator who probably was the second son of the Emperor Ioannes, and in the third and fourth poems he directs his prayers to the Emperor Manouel Komnenos . In these beggar poems the language of the prologue and of the closing verses of each poem is a miserable variety of the old Kœne, but in the body of the petitions the demotic is used.†

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* Krumbacher, Byz. Litterature, 827-832.

At about this same time there was written in the demotic language a poem known to us under the title of "Spaneas." It has been preserved in several widely divergent versions. Perhaps the oldest version and the one nearest to the original poem is that published by Legrand.‡ It is an inattractive dedactic poem. The original poem was written about the middle of the twelfth century.§

Another linguistic monument from this same period is the poem which Michael Glykas wrote while in prison, intending it as a petition to the Emperor Manuel Komnenos, explaining the injustice of his imprisonment and asking for release. It must have been written about the year 1158 or 1159.||

These, then, are the sources whence it is possible to learn the nature of the demotic language in the twelfth century, when it first appeared in its modern form in literature. It is quite evident that this demotic actually existed long before it appeared in literature. Ptochoprodromos, Glykas, and the authors of the other works mentioned wrote in a language quite to the actually spoken dialect of the uneducated of their day in Constantinopol. They approached much closer to the actual language of the people than Malalas and Theophanes and Porphyrogennetos had done.

The successive misfortunes of the Byzantine Empire and the final occupancy of the throne of Constantinopol by the Moslem conqueror in 1453 severed many of the traditional ties that artificially held the Greeks together as one people. Then it was that genuine and pure demotic in dialectic form might be expected to acquire full license to enter the precinct of literature—no longer as an inferior tongue, but as the compeer of the ancient and aristocratic language of the capital. This real and demotic dialectic of the modern Greeks appeared when writers no longer thought of making their works presentable to the Byzantine Empire in its entirety and to its scholars, but

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* Reigned 1118-1143.

† Krumbacher, Geschichte der Byz. Litt. 804 ff.

‡ In his Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire, I, 1-10 and 11-16.

§ Krumbacher, Geschichte, etc., 802 ff.

|| Krumbacher, Geschichte, 806 f.

merely to their fellow-townsmen, whose acquaintance with language was limited more or less to the dialect of their own village. This dialectic or provincial demotic first rose into literary prominence in countries which for ages had been but loosely connected with the Byzantine Empire, and which had come under the influence of Western rather than Byzantine culture in the Ionian Island namely, and in Krete and Kypros and Rhodos. Writers in these provinces could view the language question with less rigid preconceptions in favour of tradition, and at the same time were less influenced by a broader patriotism which might impel them to neglect local dialect for the sake of the more general good.

Not all of the dialects can be commented on here. It was in the Kretan dialect that the richest and best known literature appeared. Perhaps the most famous composition in this Kretan dialect is the long epic poem called Erotokritos. It was written by Vincenzo Cornaro about the middle of the sixteenth century. Of all the works in modern Greek literature, the Erotokritos has been the most popular, especially in the islands that were under Venetian dominion. Koraes calls it "The Homer of modern demotic literature." The plot of the poem shows the influence of Western manners and customs. Erotokritos secretly loves the princess Aretousa. But her father, the King of Athens, wishes to give her to some royal personage who would be worthy of succeeding him on the throne. Erotokritos is a comely youth, a sweet serenader, and a victorious combatant in the tournament which the King institutes. But when his love becomes known he is exiled from Athens. After this, the King of the Vlachs invades the Kingdom of Athens, but is driven off by the bravery of Erotokritos. By this good fortune he becomes the King's favorite, and is accepted by Aretousa, who had loved him all along.

The first who attempted to reduce the demotic language to grammatical system was Nikolaos Sophianos of Kerkyra.* He was one of those educated Greeks who united in themselves the learning of western Europe with the thorough knowledge of the language of their country and an intense love for their fellow-countrymen. He was one of the alumni that had studied under Janos Laskaris in the noted Greek school which Leo the tenth founded in Rome.† Sophianos held the demotic language in high esteem, and was in favor of taking as much as possible from the demotic into the literary language. In the preface to his grammar he announced his intention of publishing, in this dialect, other elementary books such as treatises on rhetoric, logic, geometry, astronomy, and philosophy, and a neo-Hellenic lexicon, and translations from the classical authors, to be employed in the elevating of the status of education among the young Greeks. But the only work which he actually published in this language was a translation of Ploutarch's Treatise on Education. This was printed in the year 1544. Even his grammar remained unpublished. In 1870 M Legrand published the first part of it from a manuscript which had been preserved in the library of Paris.

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* Sathas, Νεοελληνικῆς Φιλολογίας Παράρτημα, pp 11-15.

† Roscoe's Life of Leo X, II, p. 342, Bohn's ed.

From the beginning of the sixteenth century down to the beginning of the nineteenth there were three phases of language struggling silently for the future mastery in literature, the old Kœne, the demotic in the form of local dialects chiefly, and a mixed variety which accepted very much from the demotic and discarded very much that was peculiar to the old language, as, for instance, the use of infinitives and optatives and datives, but which, nevertheless, retained in general the ancient grammatical types. This middle phase, this language of compromise, which seemed capable of partaking of the best qualities of both the others, was destined to be regarded as winner in the new kingdom of Greece.

This middle language was not an entirely artificial mixture. It grew up in Constantinopol chiefly amongst those whose official life kept them using the language of the church. The higher classes in Constantinopol had retained much more of the old language than did the Greeks in general. The celebrated Italian humanist, Francesco Filelfo, who had lived in Constantinopol from 1420 to 1427, and who was a thorough Greek scholar, while stating that the language of the multitude was very different from the ancient, praises the purity and accuracy of the language of the higher classes, especially that of the ladies of Constantinopol.* From Constantinopol this mixed language was propagated through other parts of the Greek world. It became the language of the pulpit and the monasteries and the schools. Much of the literature appeared in it, but of the more inferior kind, however, for the best scholars, like Gennadios and Bessarion and Gemistos, adhered to the ancient.

There is no reason for viewing this mixed language as being much different from a dialect. In its ordinary acceptation a dialect is a special form of language spoken by a set of inhabitants who live together and form a community as regards site; this mixed tongue was the language of a body of men who, though not living together as one community, yet were in continual communication and were a separate set of inhabitants who by unconscious mutual influence and example taught each other to use this mixed language. And as the class of men who used it were kept in union and intercommunication mostly by the medium of the church, it might appropriately be distinguished from the dialects of local origin as well as from the higher variety of church language by being described as the "vulgar ecclesiastical dialect." It is therefore quite probable that this mixed language was not wilfully and scholastically created out of the inventive imagination of the first writers who used it, but that it was quite similar to the language then employed in social intercourse among all Greeks of any learning except the extreme ones who sought their ideal either in the classic Kœne or in the local dialects.

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* Hodius, De Græcis Illustribus, pp. 188-189. Cf. also Gibbon (Smith's ed., 1881), viii, pp. 105-106.

Of all those who made use of this mixed language, the monk Elias Meniates deserves special mention here, because he was one of the most famous and popular Greek preachers of modern times.* The sermons which he preached to the Greek community of Venice, and to the inhabitants of his native island of Kephallenia, and to the Peloponnesians in the diocese of Kernike and Kalabryta, where he was made bishop in the year 1711, used to attract multitudes of hearers. Not the slightest reason exists for us to suspect that his language was not intelligible to the crowds that used to go to hear him.

It was peculiar to those who used the mixed language that they could draw on the traditional Kœne whenever the speech of the people did not supply such words as they wished, and that they used ancient rather than popular types of words, when this did not render their language too different from such as the people understood. It is immediately evident that there existed almost as many grades of this mixed language as there existed speakers and writers who employed it.

From the middle of the eighteenth century a strong feeling of patriotic fraternity was propagated among the Greeks. They were made to feel that they were a single and united people, whose independence was approaching. This idea of racial, religious, and political unity could not but make itself felt in the matter of language. Scholars became convinced that some one of the three phases of language should be definitely and finally selected as the sole official language of the entire Greek world. Each of the three rivals had earnest and intelligent advocates.

Toward the beginning of the present century the claims of the ancient Greek, or at least of such Greek as is found in the New Testament and the Church Fathers, were supported by men of high and wide repute at that time, such as Lampros

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* Masarachi, Vita degli uomini illustri dell' isola di Cefalonia. Venezia, 1843-1845; pp. 23—50, Elia Miniati.

Photiades, who taught in Bucharest; Stephanos Kommetas, of Thessaly, and Neophytos Doukas, of Epeiros. Kommetas entered the field of argument in favor of the classical tongue by publishing in Vienna in the year 1800 a "Practical grammar" (Παιδαγωγὸς ἢ Πρακτικὴ Γραμματική) of the ancient language. In the preface to this grammar he first explains his grounds for thinking that the old Greek is the only proper language for the Hellenes, and then he adds that the classical language may easily become familiar to all Greeks who determine to learn how to use it. A more powerful defender of the ancient Greek was the noble-souled Doukas. He first proclaimed his views in a grammar called "Terpsithea," which he published in Vienna in 1804. He did not advocate a complete return to classic and Attic Greek, but a return to a pure Greek language merely, which would be much like the best language of the Patriarchate of Constantinopol. To this sect adhered the celebrated Phanariote community of Constantinopol. The Phanariotes were that community of influential Greeks of loose conscience, who lived round the palace of the Patriarch and molded and directed the policy of the church. Most of the educated churchmen throughout all parts of the Greek world were in favor of the traditional literary language, which had been glorified by being the medium of philosophy and Christianity, and by being the language of the Patriarchate and the former empire. In this spirit the two great lights of the Hellenic world in the eighteenth century, Evgenios Boulgaris and Nikephoros Theotokis, had adhered in most of their writings to the strictly orthodox language. True it is that Boulgaris translated into a mixed language, which he thought to be more intelligible to the people, the noted work of Voltaire on the dissensions of the church in Poland, and published it in 1768. But most of his gigantic literary feats he performed in the old Greek. He expressed his views about the commoner tongue in his "Logic," which he published in 1769, where he attacks and ridicules this language as being an unworthy medium of higher thought. Likewise Theotokis composed usually in the ancient language, but like Boulgaris he made exceptions; for instance, in the year 1796 he published in the mixed tongue, which he wrote with much grace, a book for popular use called "Kyriakodromia," which explains the gospels and lessons read in the churches on Sundays and feasts.

But these churchmen who favored the ancient language had enemies as determined as themselves. Doukas was a teacher in the Greek school which Lampros Photiades had founded in Bucharest. Some of his opponents, finding that logic as they employed it had no effect on this enthusiastic and untiring writer and defender of the ancient language, determined to resort to more effective means. He was waylaid one morning early on his way to church to celebrate the holy mass, was attacked and left for dead. This maltreatment rendered him an invalid for three years. But he finally recovered, and resumed his task of defending his principles.

The demotic, which in its dialectic forms had long since become popular as a literary medium for special kinds of composition, now acquired a school of admirers who promulgated the doctrine that their demotic possessed virtues of such a character as to justify its adoption as the sole national language. Among the most remembered of these pleaders for the exaltation of the demotic were Katartzes, Billaras, and Christopoulos. These three not only defended the use of the demotic, but took the logical stand of endeavoring to use it in their writings. Demetrios Katartzes, who lived in Roumania, wrote in prose, and his works are now valueless; but the other two, Billaris and Christspoulos, wrote in verse, and have been ranked among the poets of note. Billaras was very successful in satire, and Christopoulos, on account of his easy-flowing erotic and bacchanalian songs, has been called the modern Anacreon. In the year 1814 Billaras published a book[*] in which he defended his position regarding the question of language. It seems that in later life he abandoned the more extreme opinions which he defended in this book—such as the introduction of phonetic spelling into modern Greek—but nevertheless he always remained a determined supporter of the demotic as he understood and wrote it. Christopoulos also wrote in behalf of his practice. His views can be found most attractively expressed in a dialogue in which, adopting his plan from Xenophon[†] and Loukian,[‡] he introduces two supernatural women, one of whom represents the demotic and the other the traditional literary language, who, by debating in the presence of Christopoulos on the attractiveness and usefulness of their respective languages, endeavor to gain the friendship of Christopoulos accordingly. Christopoulos decides to follow her who advocates the claims of the demotic.

Entirely new life and interest was given to the dispute by the deep scholarship and patriotic labors of Adamantios Koraes.[§] This savant, who was a native of Chios, studied medicine in Montpellier, and afterwards lived most of his long and busy literary life in Paris. Like the other enlightened Greeks of his day, he felt that a period of national independent existence was approaching for the Greeks, and did all he could to precipitate it and to gain friends for the cause. Especially did he devote himself to the task of improving the condition of education and culture among his fellow-countrymen. With this end in view he wrote and published continually. His writings soon attracted the attention not only of the Greeks but of scholars everywhere. He recognized the importance of the language question. His first public and official utterance in regard to it was in the prolegomena to an edition of the Aethiopika of Heliodoros, which he edited in Paris in the year 1804. His views in detail he published in prefaces to editions of certain other Greek authors. These prefaces are entitled Spontaneous Reflections on Greek Education and Language.* He saw neither in the pure dialects nor in the traditional Kœne of the church and the aristocracy of letters the kind of language that could be adopted for the new nation he was dreaming of. He thought that the language of the people was worthy of being thoroughly studied and sifted, and that whatever of its essence was neither purely modern nor foreign should be adopted as the nucleus for a new variety of a literary and polite language. It is clear that only as a nucleus could this demotic language serve. For the language employed by the uneducated Greeks was inexact and meager, being sufficiently rich only in the more concrete and ordinary terms which least often occur in higher literature. Koraes wished to keep as close as possible to the demotic. In the selection of words and in the construction of sentences and modes of expression he took pains not to wander off from this demotic, or at least not to depart so far as to make his language unintelligible to the common man. In the process of elevating the language he considered that the first and most important measure was to purify it from all foreign elements, and especially from foreign words, most of which were Italian or Turkish or Albanian. Then he desired that all words and types which differed but very slightly from their ancient forms should be written after the ancient manner. And then he wished that all who wrote in new Greek should write consistently with their own principles; that they should adopt certain forms and adhere to the use of them so that their language might have a symmetrical structure. He looked forward to the time when good poets would arise and follow this method, and by their example set the style of language that all would then adopt.

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[*] *η Ρομεηκη Γλοσα.*

[†] Mem. 2, 1, 21 ff.

[‡] Somnium.

[§] Mondry Beaudoin, Quid Korais de neohellenica lingua senserit. Parie, 1883; and Θερειανός, Ἀδαμάντιος Κοραῆς. Triest. 1889-1900.

Koraes' desire was to form a self-consistent language. Those who before him had written in this mixed middle style often took phrases and idioms and words from each language at

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[*] Αὐτοσχέδιοι στοχασμοὶ περὶ τῆς Ἑλλ, παιδείας καὶ γλώσσης.

random, and mixed them into a most bizarre and inartistic composition, without rule and without taste. The result was that the language in which they tried to write was not of an even and uniform kind, but the writer kept continually leaping zigzag from one style of language into the opposite. This unscholarly and inartistic style Koraes contemptuously calls "maccaronic," taking the term from the Italian—for among Italian literary critics "maccaronismo" is used as the name for compositions written in an absurd and ridiculous mixture of Latin and Italian. As distinct from the "mixobarbaric" language of his predecessors, the style of language in which Koraes wrote is known as "the purified tongues," or "katharevousa." This name is now recognized by all as the proper designation for the official language of the modern kingdom of Greece.

Koraes knew and taught that the modern language should not wilfully cut itself off from that period of the past in which a great literature had appeared in Greek. Accordingly, the enriching and beautifying and elevating and uniting of the impoverished dialects of the Greek rajas was to take place by drawing on the ancient for every term and mode of expression which the spoken dialects were not ready to supply. In this way the language which Koraes advocated, and in which he usually wrote, bore strong resemblance to the ancient, but the likeness was produced in conformity with principles sound and logical. From among the many dialectic forms of declension and inflection he preferred those which were nearest to the ancient ones. Occasionally, when the dialectic forms were quite different from the ancient, he preferred to retain the ancient type. And when new terms had to be introduced from the ancient, such words were chosen as were most conformable to the nature of the modern language and most easy of being apprehended and understood.

Koraes' fame in connection with language question depends not so much on any novel principle that he introduced as on his learning and ability, which enabled him to show by the example of his prolific and scholarly pen the feasibility and advisability of the course which he recommended. Naturally, however, he laid himself open to attack. The demoticists did not agree with him because he did not limit himself to their narrowness. But the most merciless attacks came from the ranks of the supporters of the written Kœne. Especially did the church and the aristocracy of Constantinopol feel unfriendly toward the man who thus joined hands with the populace, and recognized so much virtue in this lowly language. These opponents suspected that his doctrine concerning the language question was a result of his sympathy for the spirit of the

French revolution. One of the Phanariote community, Jakobos Rizos, who taught Greek literature in Gevena and was well-known in Europe, satirized the teachings of Koraes in a severe and personal comedy.*

Another scholar who took a prominent part in the discussion was Panagiotes Kodrikas. He was a native of Athens. After having studied in Constantinopol he went to Bucharest, and there became a pupil of Lampros Photiades. Later in life he went to Paris, and there held the position of an interpreter under the government. He wrote in the "maccaronic" or "mixobarbaric" style. In the year 1802 he published a pamphlet attacking the opinion of those who wished to purify the demotic. He seems to have held theoretically that the deficiencies in the demotic should be filled by drawing most freely on the classical and traditional language, but that no attempt should be made to render the two ingredients similar to each other and monochrome. His pamphlet† was severely attacked by Koraes and others, and years afterwards he felt obliged to write another and more exhaustive treatise in self-defence and retributory onslaught on his opponents.‡ Doukas also attacked Koraes, and was rudely attacked in return. But the dispute between these various leaders were often more personal than scholarly, and need not be further commented on here.

In spite of all opposition, Koraes' teachings, on account of their reasonableness and practicability, began to prevail among the Greeks everywhere. Lampros Photiades, who hitherto had been a warm defender of the archaistic Kœne, after reading Koraes' "Spontaneous Reflections," became strongly inclined in his favor, and, as is recorded in the "Logios Hermes" of Vienna for 1819, stated that of all the Hellenic scholars of the day Koraes was the only one who had clearly shown in what language the Greeks ought to write and speak. The ease with which this mixed language could be written, and the fact that it had been in one form or other the literary medium of many writers for more than a century back, together with the impulse given to its use by the teachings of Koraes, caused it to become the official language of the regenerated nation. The army leaders in the struggle for independence from 1821 to 1828 made considerable use of it. Likewise the national assemblies and the central government accepted it. The press also,[*] before the declaration of independence, had employed this language in the various Greek journals that had been published in Vienna and Paris, and notably in the Logios Hermes, which was edited in Vienna by supporters of the principles of Koraes; and after the beginning of the war, the Chronicle of Mesolongion, which began in 1824, and most of the subsequent journals, were edited in the "katharevousa."

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* Κοράκιστικὰ ἢ διόρθωσις τῆς Ῥωμαικᾶς γλώσσης. Constantinopol, 1813.

† Observations sur l' opinion de quelques hellénistes touchant le grec moderne. Paris, 1802.

‡ Μελέτη τῆς κοινῆς Ἑλληνικῆς διαλέκτου. Vol. I, Paris, 1818. Vol. II was never published.

With the establishment of a system of popular education in 1828, under Kapodistrias, the president of the Greek commonwealth, the katharevousa was taken as the medium through which all instruction was to be given in the elementary and middle schools. And since 1837, when the national University was founded in Athens, this likewise has been the language used by all the professors, both in their lectures and in their writings.

But the wholesome doctrine inaugurated by Koraes, that the demotic should always be the soul of the written language gradually was lost sight of. On account of the poverty of the demotic, each writer and speaker had unlimited liberty to introduce from the ancient whatever words he needed. By virtue of this circumstance, every man who purified his language in accordance with the principles of Koraes might by reflection observe that more than nine-tenths of his words and grammatical forms were ancient, either by traditional oral preservation or by adoption and incorporation. In consequence of this proximity of the approved modern language to the ancient classical, many writers were tempted to make their language out-and-out archaic. These may be classed as disciples of Doukas, and followed his method of writing rather than of Koraes.[†] A noted defender of this nearer approach to the ancient language was the poet Panagiotes Soutsos. He explained the reasons for his attachment to the ancient style in his prolegomena to his drama "Evthumios Blachabas," and in an essay entitled "A New School of Written Speech."[‡]

In this process of enriching the katharevousa from the classic Greek, the greatest difficulty came from the fact that the Greeks had but recently escaped from servitude, and therefore did not possess many efficient scholars who could afford to devote themselves to this labor. Modern civilized life had immediate need for a multitude of words, which during the past two thousand years had been entirely unnecessary, and had therefore long ago become extinct in the spoken language. These forgotten words had to be brought back with all haste and rehabilitated into the daily language of the people. To go to the ancient Attic and other varieties of ancient Greek for a necessary word is merely to go to the nearest and most closely related source.

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[*] Le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, La presse dans la Grèce depuis l'Indépendance jusqu'en 1871. In the Annuaire des études grecques, 1871, pp. 47 ff.

[†] Chatzidakis Μελέτη ἐπὶ τῆς νέας Ἑλληνικῆς ἢ βάσανος τοῦ ἐλέγχου το ψευδαττικισμοῦ, Athens, 1884, p. 63.

[‡] Νέα σχολὴ τοῦ γραφομένου λόγου. Athens, 1853.

It is a well-known fact that during the many and long ages of its existence the Greek language underwent numerous changes in pronunciation. Some of these changes are of such a nature as to render certain few words of the ancient no longer serviceable in the present language, because when pronounced by the present method they are liable to be confounded with other words of other meanings. For example, the ancient word for "we" is by modern pronunciation, which makes no distinction between eta and ypsilon, identical in sound with the ancient word for "you." One can easily imagine the inconvenience that might arise from the use of words of such ambiguous meaning. But the danger of confusion is by no means so great as it would be in a non-inflected language, for in Greek the verbs indicate the person referred to.

This demand for such an increase of vocabulary, necessitated mostly by the sudden transition from a peasant and pastoral life to one full of all kinds of activity, could in great part be satisfied by renewing the forgotten part of the classical language. But the exigencies of modern life, in many respects different from the ancient, together with the demands of the new sciences, and new inventions, and new modes of dress, and the need of technical terms for modern music and fashion and so on, could be satisfied only by the introduction of a number of words which never existed in the ancient. These new words had either to be borrowed from other modern languages or else had to be created out of the abundant and plastic material afforded by the old Greek. The second course has usually been followed, and thus the homochrome quality of the language has been preserved. There has lately been published a lexicon of more than 60,000 words that have been added to the language since the fall of Constantinopol.* The author gives the date and place of the first appearance of each of these new words in the written language. It must be repeated that these are new-coined words, and are distinct from the equally large number of old words revived for new service with their old meaning. Most of these new-coined words are quite correctly formed from pure Greek originals by composition, and most of them are euphonious and expressive. By these two processes of enrichment it has been found easy to keep abreast of modern progress in language.

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* Stephanos Kounanoudes, *Συναγωγὴ νέων λέξεων ὑπὸ τῶν λογίων πλασθεισῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἁλώσεως μεχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων.* Athens, 1900. Two vols.

On account of the intercourse with other nations, especially in commerce, many names of concrete objects, of wares from abroad, have been imported along with the articles indicated by them. But even these words have in many cases been replaced by others of Greek origin, and foreign names that were in use a generation ago are no longer intelligible save to the older people.

This rapid enrichment of the language could not have taken place faultlessly. There is wide room for criticism and correction in many places. This work of criticism has been taken up by a few philologians, notably by the famous Kontos. Unfortunately Kontos did not keep his scientific work free from raillery against all those who did not recognize and correct the blunders which they and others were from time to time committing. Perhaps no other philologian has such extensive and reliable knowledge of the correct use of Attic words as has Kontos. But his influence has not been as fruitful as it deserves to have been. He himself is not a copious writer in original composition, but has confined himself to oral teaching and to the thankless task of pointing out the faults in the work done by others.

Writers and users of the katharevousa may be designated by the common name of "purists." They are divided into three grades. The austere purists endeavor to employ their words and forms with classic precision. In practice they undertake to observe what such philologians as Kontos teach in theory. The men of this school are mostly writers of prose. In fact, they can now boast of only one good poet, Kleon Rangabes, who in this high style of language has composed a number of short lyric poems, which he has published in a volume called "Sorrows."* But even for Rangabes this extremely high and correct language is acceptable only in his meditative and dreamy lyric. In dramatic composition, such as his "Theodora and Herakleitos," he adopts rather the language of the middle class of purists.

In the middle or temperate katharevousa is housed the great mass of the better contemporary literature of Greece. The temperate katharevousa is used by all public speakers, by the members of Parliament, and by all scientific men. Some readable poetry and a great quantity of excellent prose have taken form in this middle katharevousa. Among the poets it has been used by Alexandros Soutsos, Panagiotes Soutsos, Paparregopoulos, Achilles Paraschos, not to mention others. It is the language usually preferred by those who translate light literature from European languages into Greek. It has also been used by Roïdes in his notorious novel the Popess Joanna.

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* Ἄλγη, Leipzig, 1893.

Finally, there is the style of language which, for instance, Bikelas used in his translation of Shakespeare's plays into Greek. Case endings of nouns and personal endings of verbs are often taken from the demotic. Likewise many words which by being of foreign or of supposedly ignoble origin are excluded from more rigorously pure composition are allowed in this grade of katharevousa. It is difficult to decide whether such writers as Damberges and Drosines should be classed here or with the demoticists. They are writers of short stories and poems. Their language is indeed based on the katharevousa, but is nevertheless much influenced by contributions from the demotic. The fact that they describe the life and thoughts of the country people and shepherds explains in a great measure their tendency toward the demotic.

The katharevousa has received some severe criticism from European scholars. But, on the other hand, it has been highly lauded. Whoever wishes to form a notion of its merits and defects has to study it directly and judge for himself. The outsider is prone to suspect that its similarity to the classical language is too artificial. He may even go so far as to feel innocent when he condemns it without knowing it. Among the Greeks themselves many of the best writers and most intelligent critics do not like to see it incline excessively toward the principles taught by the school of Kontos. Possibly the best judge in the matter is Chatzidakis. He deprecates the unrestrained tendency to classicism. But, nevertheless, he judges that historic reasons imperatively make it impossible for Greece of to-day to thrive intellectually and politically on any other language than the katharevousa. Chatzidakis is a glossologist; and in this connection it is interesting to note that those outsiders who have attacked the katharevousa have held that they based their dislike for it on glossological reasons. The glossologist, as such, has hitherto had no respect for literature, and has taken no account of the demands that literature and history may make on a language. These demands lie beyond the present limits of glossological study. The katharevousa, like every literary language, interferes with the free action of phonetic laws and other influences that operate more rapidly and effectually on speech when literature does not exist. To the glossologist modern Greek might offer a more interesting study if it might only go on untrammeled and unhampered by literature. But what might be best for glossological science might be fatal for the Greek nation and its literature and its hopes.

There has in these later days been a rebound from the use of the katharevousa. Perhaps the excessive purists are in some degree responsible for this reaction. All fine-souled people seem to love dialects, and do not care to see them abused. But in Greece the lovers of the lower forms of language go much further. For here there is a small school of men who advocate the use of the dialectic and demotic tongue as the exclusive literary medium. But a good number of these demoticists are men who imagine that they could be celebrated authors, especially poets, if they did not have to spend long years in study in order to master the language in which they would write. Poetic and literary talent they believe that they possess innate. Indeed, the notion that men of other nationalities acquire accurate and ready knowledge of their native language by simply growing up is very common in Greece. And even the eminent Chatzidakis believes that in the time of the ancient classic splendor no writer would have to think a moment about how he ought to clothe his ideas in words, once he became master of the ideas.*

Besides the quasi poets and the story-tellers who sigh for the reign of demotic, and who not knowing demotic create one to their fancy by remodeling the katharevousa according to their *à priori* notions about dialect and demotic, there are serious men who think that a language formed by gathering up everything that can be found in the dialects should become the official language of literature. The most widely known of these is Professor Psycharis, of Paris, who has written some most interesting books in what he declares to be the common spoken language of Greece. He gathers his words and phrases from the dialects. He has a warm supporter in Prof. Emile Legrand, who has done much for the promotion of interest in the study of Byzantine and modern Greek literature. M. Legrand, like Psycharis, abuses all who do not adopt his views about the "deadness" of the katharevousa and the excellence of the dialectic speech. Around Psycharis and Legrand may be grouped most of the others who write in demotic. Legrand has gathered together the names of the most prominent of them, adding short biographies and specimens of their writings, in a chrestomathy of New Greek, which he published for the use of his pupils in Paris (Chrestomathie Grecque, publiée par Emile Legrand, professeur de grec moderne à l'école nationale des langues orientales vivantes, et Herbert Pernot, répétiteur de grec moderne à l'école nationale des langues orientales vivantes, Paris, 1899). Many of these dialect writers produce most charming short sketches. From the folklore of the people, which is rich in picturesque expressions and in the more gaudy trinkets of story and simpler poetry, the demoticists gather together many choice phrases. In this same folklore they find also interesting material for their stories and poems. The attractiveness of this material aids their plea for the dialectic language, as if the nature of this folklore were due to the language in which it has been preserved. But the demoticists cannot be easily criticised on the question of their language, for outside of the circle of their admirers there are but few who are able to speak well or write in demotic. Among those who prefer the demotic are the poets Palamas and Markoras. Among the novelists Andreas Karkabitsas ranks high. Of course the demoticists cannot well agree on any standard variety of their favorite language. Polylas translated the Odyssey into demotic, and Palles has translated the Iliad. Whoever compares the language of these two translations may observe how greatly Polylas and Palles fail to coincide in their choice of idiom. The great pride and boast of the demoticists is the lyric poet Solomos, of Zakynthos, who, at the outbreak of the revolution, wrote his celebrated "Ode to Liberty." But, like most other demoticists, his language is not the pure dialect of his native island; he borrows freely from the katharevousa. Moreover, his poetry owes its fame chiefly to the stirring themes which he selected rather than to the language.

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* "Schon Polybios klagt über die Schwierigkeiten, denen er begegnete, so oft er einen hübschen Gedanken in einer eben so hübschen Sprachform darstellen wollte, und meint, es sei viel besser auf den Inhalt als auf die Form der Darstellung zu achten. Zu einer solchen Ausserung konnten z. B. Thukydides oder Demosthenes unmöglich kommen."—Einleitung, p. 3-4.

Dialects still flourish in the remote parts of Greece among the uneducated. The influence of the schools does not reach the children of all the inhabitants as it should. Most of all the other efficient means for the propagating of language are now operating very imperfectly. There are no reading circles, and no literary societies, except in the large cities. The people have no books. There are no family libraries in the private houses, and in the provinces there are very few public libraries. There are no halls and no places where the people hear lectures or speeches, or enjoy any kind of literary entertainment. There is almost no preaching in church. Imagine what the condition of the language of the English or American peasant would be under similar conditions. Fortunately, these evils are merely remains of past modes of life and will pass away.

As for the written katharevousa, which is probably destined to continue to be the only serious literary and universal language of Greece, we cannot form a just notion. It is hard to judge of the excellence of a language. One is liable to be influenced by the merits of the corresponding literature. Yet it seems that an excellent language may have a very indifferent literature, and a poor language may possess an excellent literature. It may be noted that to-day the written and not the spoken word prevails among civilized peoples. Therefore the relations between the demotic and the literary languages are not the same as they were when all men spoke indeed, while but few used to read and write. Many of us now think it proper to try to talk in a language conformable to written models rather than to write in a language modeled after our daily speech. It is possible that to-day the spoken language must make more concessions to the written than the written to the spoken. If so, the principles of the purists are most logical.

There is a feeling among many in Greece that the late tendency toward the so-called demotic, toward the artificial mixture made up for the occasion by each long-haired poet who begins to write verses, is a sign of the decay of the historic national consciousness and a bad omen for the future. The suspicion that these tendencies are antinational has assisted in occasioning the formation, just lately, of a new organization called the Society for the Defense of Ancestral Institutions.* The nearest purpose of this society is to reawaken a spirit of love and reverence for the old orthodox religion, which has gradually fallen into a most sad plight, and for the ancestral written language, which the society proposes to propagate with patriotic zeal. Their cause is holy. The Philhellene will always be glad to learn that they take a high and noble care of their historic tongue, and that they do not intend to let it wither itself out into a few interesting glossematic dialects.

[The above most valuable paper has been exhumed from an official American publication of 2,000 pp., where it is completely lost. The author is Dr. Daniel Quinn.—EDITOR (*late*) *C. R.*]

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* Ἑταιρεία τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων ἀμύνης.

ART. IV.—NATIVE JOURNALISM.

JOURNALISM is yet in its infancy in India. The brightest period of India's intellectual activity was essentially characterized by the complete absence of anything like public opinions expressed through the medium of the Press. The country was swayed by rulers on more or less despotic lines; favoritism and individual caprice forming the main spring of the machinery of Government. There were no printing presses and men had no means of publicly airing their views and thus placing an effective check upon the despotism of the ruling power. This was an essential drawback in the old system of Indian administration; and it was then regarded sedition and even sacrilege for people to urge their views upon the sovereign and still more so to question his acts and deeds.

Now the state of things is far different. Centuries later commercial instincts drove the Western nations in quest of Eastern treasure which resulted in a fair and open competition for the mastery amongst them. This long-sustained struggle ended in the survival of the British nation as the fittest to govern India; and, as every one admits, at the present day her destinies have passed into hands competent and well-intentioned enough to guide and control them to the fortune and prosperity of the ruled, and the credit and renown of the rulers. The advent of the British Government made possible India's rapid development on Western lines. One after another Western institutions have been introduced into the country. Liberty of speech, thought and action has been the watchword of that body; and a close and impartial scrutiny of the principles underlying it will tell us that this conclusion is neither wrong nor exaggerated.

The introduction of public opinion expressed through the Press and the platform has been another of these Western institutions. In England the Press has become a powerful factor in the direction and control of public affairs, and it has been not inaptly said that a leader in the columns of the London *Times* is more powerful and effective than much discussion in the House of Commons.

In India it is just shaping itself into a potent public agency and is destined to become, in the years to come, at least something like what it is now in the West. But like all other infant institutions it has its own inherent defects and failings. It is not therefore on this ground alone to be cried down, as it unfortunately is, by some of those who are to guide us through the labyrinth of public life. There exists, no doubt, at the present day in India a wide gulf between the rulers and the ruled. The first duty of all interested in the healthy progress and prosperity of the Indian community, European or native, is to bridge that gulf instead of widening it. Here, as a natural result, in matters of public opinion apparently on the analogy of English politicians, Indians and Englishmen have practically divided themselves into two rival parties. It will be found that on almost any question of vital political consequence public opinion stands divided between the Indian and the English. The Press then steps in on either side, the English papers advocating the English side, and the native journals thundering forth, the great majority of them in bad English, bad taste, bad politics. This only helps to make the former, who are practically the exponents of Government views, grow more stiff in opinion and spoil the native cause. No doubt, there is a deal of sound criticism of Government's public measures advanced by the native Press. But one is grieved to find that there is, in their demonstrations, more of strong vituperation and violent attacks upon men and measures than of sound and fair criticism. And the result is, that even the little good that it is capable of doing is spoiled by the radical advocacy of the native Press. It has, also, unfortunately become the rule for the latter to oppose the English side of every question and thus to create a political rivalry, apparently based on party lines between the Government and the natives of this country. Opposition is often raised, more for the sake of opposition than for any healthy beneficial results. There is not much difference in this respect between native English and native vernacular journalism. Anyone who possesses a fair writing capacity, may start as an editor and pose himself as a public exponent of public questions. He may not possess any knowledge of history or political economy, or the recognized canons of journalism. He may not be gifted with the power of grasping a knotty public question, and the tact to put it forth to the rulers in a constitutional and temperate manner, yet he will, and can, at any time set up as a journalist affecting to advocate the native side so as to produce an effect upon the powers that be, and identifying intemperate invective with sound and sober criticism. The result is that instead of good coming out of this criticism, even the good cause which soberly espoused would be deserving of consideration, is spoiled, and much harm is done to what otherwise ought to result in a fair success to the native side.

The case of vernacular journalism is still worse. The veriest tyro in penmanship, possessing but a smattering of English and not even as much of politics or history, who would do no credit to one of the lower forms of our schools or colleges, takes to journalism as a last resource when all other means of living have failed him. I have known some of these journalists affecting to comment upon intricate questions of trade and legislation without adequate knowledge to comprehend the subjects they are treating of; and I have known others, too, adversely criticising well-written and well-thought-out editorials published in first-rate English journals and magazines without sufficient capacity even to follow them and comprehend them. It simply amuses one to find such ill-trained, half-educated men posing themselves as the exponents of public views and dealing with public questions of vast political importance. Nothing like probationary training is insisted on, and nothing like adequate command of language is believed in, as a necessary preliminary qualification for a journalist. Indian native journalism, in the hands of such editors, goes on like a huge ship cast adrift on the wide waters without a competent pilot to steer its course and a compass to guide it. It does not possess the materials of steerage and control and, may at any time strike violently against any huge rock or quicksand, but it is yet a powerful machinery, powerful alike for good or evil.

Besides the preliminary training alluded to, which will render Indian native journalism efficient and preserve its prestige and morals, a good command of language and a sound knowledge of history and Political Economy, are other indispensable qualifications for a journalist. The absence of these will only tend to lower its tone and prestige. But there is yet another point of still greater importance. A fair knowledge of the law, civil and criminal, will save many an editor from its clutches. The importance to him of the sedition sections of the Penal Code and of the law of libel and slander cannot be over-rated. Want of a proper knowledge of the law forms the main basis of personal trouble to many a native journalist. Surely enough, at the present day, these labour under disadvantages on this score; and the recent press prosecutions have been visible manifestations of [illegible] so much so that the Indian legislature has been compe[illegible] evise the sedition sections of the Code on the line [illegible] s and efficiency. No doubt, English journalis[illegible] llen victims to the law, but where they hav[illegible] en more from oversight and carelessne[illegible] journalism than from wilful neglect of [illegible] ase of journalistic duty.

This [illegible] ntended to be a wholesale attack upon native journal[illegible] must be admitted that there are a few papers which have a conscience and are fairly reliable exponents of native public opinion. But the existence of hosts of radical

and revolutionary " contemporaries " obs
fairness and decency, and takes away
Despite all the violent invectives that th
journals hurl, even at the sound measure
that Government does give them fair heari
views whenever they commend themselve
is sufficient proof of its good intentions
often misconstrued and misrepresented.

In engrafting this altogether Western
East and thus extending to us the privi
England has taken a wise and liberal ste
duty not to abuse it and make it a weap
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do not, doubtless, enjoy the full measu
respect which our English brethren enjo
have been made and made with beneficial
Our first duty is therefore clear. We m
use, keeping ourselves within the strict b
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of respect and loyalty towards our rul
been good enough and kind enough to gr
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proving ourselves capable and competent
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England, an integral part of the Gov
Estate.

The majority of native journals are
absence of sufficient discretion in the sele
for treatment in their columns. The
treated of and published alongside of the
far-reaching ones ; more energy and t
lavished upon topics which might be
side-note ; stirring topics of the
all the popular interest in them has ab
leading columns are devoted to the
trivial nature ; and the most import
the least attractive columns. Extracts
without due regard to their importance
to the editor " are passed off and publis
the writer's name being the only guaran
local interest are oftener discussed in
metropolis than in those of the mofus
alyed till they become trite and uni

grammar, idiom and diction and general taste are more often faulty than otherwise.

The almost absolute want of paid specialists to write on special topics is a common feature of almost all native journals; and it is one which sadly detracts from the merit of the articles themselves and the authoritativeness of the discussions. Fancy a vernacular journalist possessing but a slipshod knowledge of English affecting to comprehend a work on science and learnedly indulging in an academic discussion of its contents; or a native English journalist with only meagre attainments in English and with no special training in the subject, criticising a complicated question of legislation or a difficult war in a far-off land. These and the like are elements which tend only to lower the prestige and tone of native journalism as a whole.

No doubt, the recent rapid growth of native journals, both English and vernacular, is indeed creditable and deserves encouragement as an infant institution. Faults of indiscretion within limits in special cases, and in general where they could be traced to ignorance, deserve to be treated with pity and indulgence. And our duty is to work up the institution, with a due sense of proportion and decency, ever sustained by a sense of our comparative infancy as a nation, just beginning to assimilate an altogether alien institution.

T. K. GOPAL PANIKKAR.

ART. V.—PSALM-SINGING.

ALTHOUGH the singing of Psalms has been a feature of the Christian Church in every age, it was not until the Reformation dawned that the Psalms in metre, and in "a tongue understanded of the people" became part and parcel of Christian worship. At the Reformation the people were restored to their "rights," as Archbishop Secker says, *i.e.*, instead of the choir alone performing the service—the people were allowed to join them in Psalms and Hymns, and the worship of GOD ceasing to be a performance, at which all were to look and listen, became a reality in the hearts of people, as well as of choir and priest.

Mr. D'Israeli, however, had little sympathy with such an arrangement, he calls it "a mixed assembly roaring out confused tunes, nasal, gutteral and sibilant," and comes to the conclusion that "where every man was to have a voice, it must necessarily end in "clatter and chaos."*

We, who live in these days know that the increased vitality —at least in the English Church is owing in no slight degree to the revival of congregational singing, and of the exercise, on the part of the people of that which is their undoubted privilege and right.

A "Psalm-singer" was a term of reproach, for those who found joy in following the holy Apostle's injunction, "Is any merry ? let him sing Psalms"—just as 'Methodist' was, and is a nickname for any one who is in earnest about religion, and 'Ritualist, very often, is for those who desire decent and hearty services.

Mr. Isaac D'Israeli must have entered into very little, and understood much less of the enthusiasm of the early Methodists, and the true piety of the Moravians when he could write such words as these: "It would be polluting these pages with ribaldry, obscenity and blasphemy were I to give specimens of some hymns of the Moravians and the Methodists, and some of the still lower sects."

For the origin and rise of Psalm-singing we must go to France—and to the court of Francis I. In 1540 Clement Marot, the favourite French Poet, that "prince of poets and that poet of princes," translated 52 Psalms into French verse, which became so popular that, for a time, they altogether superseded the lascivious songs of the French court. Theodore Beza, afterwards co-pastor with John Calvin at Geneva, finished this version.

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* Curiosities of Literature, vol. ii, p. 472.

In France Psalm-singing was never a religious function, but was popular because "it was fashionable. Singing Psalms in verse was then one of the chief ingredients in the happiness of social life."

'Catholics' and 'Protestants' alike adopted these songs and sung them to the accompaniment of guitar and lute—the former little suspecting how fatal they would afterwards become to the Roman faith. It was not long, however, before Psalm-singing and heresy were found to be synonymous terms, and the singing of Psalms in the vulgar tongue was termed "the Witch of Heresy"—"By reason of this power," says George Wither (the power of poesy upon which he had been speaking), "our adversaries fear the operation of the divine word expressed in Numbers; and that hath made them so bitter against our versified Psalms; yea, (as I have heard say) they term the singing of them in our vulgar tongues, the Witch of Heresy. But this I undoubtedly believe that it hath unbewitched a great many, who were before time deluded with the counterfeit sanctitie, and the pleasingnesse of such fantasticall Musique as in an unknown tongue is used in their assemblies."*

The Cardinal of Lorraine was the first to discover what was supposed to be the dangerous tendency of Psalm-singing. The mistress of Henry II of France, Diane de Poictiers, was not only a Psalm singer, but a Bible reader—proceedings, one would say a little inconsistent with her priv [illegible] done doubtless because it was the fashion, an [illegible] religious feeling. It is said that the Cardi [illegible] a Bible on her table, "having throw [illegible] condemned it, remonstrated with th [illegible] a kind of reading not adapted [illegible] matters, if she was uneasy [illegible] masses instead of one [illegible] nosters and her pr [illegible] ornamented with [illegible] exquisite pencils [illegible]

[illegible]

Sometime before the publication of Marot's version, the idea had suggested itself to John Calvin of introducing into the new worship, which he was establishing, singing in the mother tongue to tunes in which all might join. The Psalms of Marot were just what Calvin wanted, and being set to simple and easy melodies they soon became the badge of the Genevan worship and faith.

England was not long in following the example of France and Geneva, and Psalm-singing became for a time an institution.

Sternhold and Hopkins (of whom more will be said in a later paper) attempted to do for England what Clement Marot did for France, but they utterly failed because they lacked his genius and poetic fire;—for more than two centuries, however, the Psalms in metre were an important part of public worship in the Church of England.

The first instance we have of Psalm-singing as a part of public worship was in 1559, on the occasion of the preaching of a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, before the Mayor and Aldermen of London, by a Mr. Vernon, "learned Protestant and Parson of St. Martin's, Ludgate."

After the sermon was over we are told that "they all sung in common a Psalm in metre, as it seems now was frequently done, the custom having been brought in from abroad by the [illegible]

[illegible] us:—"1559 September. The new Morning [illegible] lins, London: the bell beginning to ring at [illegible] sung after the Geneva fashion; all the [illegible] nd boys, singing together.

[illegible] dal, the new Bishop of London, [illegible] fter sermon a Psalm was [illegible] f the reformed churches [illegible] their voices;" and [illegible] London, imme-

Roman Catholics by adapting vulgar and ludicrous music to Psalms and pious compositions,—but Mr. D'Israeli says "My idea differs. May we not conjecture that the intention was the same which induced Sternhold to versify the Psalms, to be sung instead of lascivious ballads; and the most popular tunes came afterwards to be adopted, that the singer might practise his favourite one, as we find it occurred in France."

In Cromwell's time Psalm-singing was a common practice, although it is much to be feared the Psalms were not sung with the simple faith and spirit which characterized the use of David's Psalms in the fourth century, so beautifully and graphically described by St. Jerome in his letter to Marcella.

Mr. Spurgeon has quoted the passage from the *Curiosities of Literature* which illustrates this point. Here are his words: "D'Israeli says, with a sneer that in the time of the Commonwealth, Psalms were now sung at Lord Mayor's dinners and city feasts; soldiers sang them on their march and parade, and few houses which had windows fronting the streets, but had their evening Psalms"—the great Baptist preacher here adds by way of comment "we can only add, would to God it were so now." If he had gone on with the quotation he would have found that the spirit which prompted this Psalm-singing was not always of the truest. Mr. D'Israeli proceeds "for a story has come down to us to record that the hypocritical brotherhood did not always care to sing unless they were heard." This testimony is borne out by a contemporary writer (1684) who alludes to this custom of the pious citizens.

"——singing with woful noise
Like a cracked Saint's-bell jarring in the steeple
Tom Sternhold's wretched sing-song to the people.

* * * * * * *

Now they're at home and have their suppers eat,
When 'Thomas' cryes the master 'Come, repeat.'
And if the windows gaze upon the street
"To sing a Psalm they hold it very meet." [*]

We learn from the Life of Sir Henry Slingsby that in 1664 the soldiers of Cromwell "in Marston Cornfield fell to singing Psalms"—and the battle of Dunbar the "Republican soldiers with their General Lambert, halted near Haddington and sung the 117th Psalm," and the Poet Laureate Shadwell, in his "Comedy of the Volunteers," describes the soldiers of the [illegible]ritan party as being used "to sing a Psalm" and then "fall on."

Mr. Warton, who was much prejudiced against this new custom, and who as events proved was not far wrong in his estimate of it as a party badge says—"This infectious frenzy of sacred song soon reached England at the critical point of time when it had just embraced the Reformation, and the new Psalmody was obtruded into the new English Liturgy by some official zealots, who favoured the discipline of Geneva, and who wished to abolish not only the choral mode of worship in general, but more particularly to suppress the Te Deum, Benedictus, Magnificat, Jubilate, Nunc Dimittis, and the rest of the liturgic hymns which were supposed to be contaminated by their long and ancient connexion with the Roman Missal, or at least in their prosaic form to be unsuitable to the new system of worship."

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[*] *Satyr against Hypocrites*, by Ed. Philips.

On the other hand the following quotation is evidently from the pen of a Puritan writer: "I understand that some sectaries and favourers of the Church of Rome have, of late years, disapproved the translation of these Psalms into the vulgar tongues and scoffed at the singing of them in the Reformed Church, in so much that they have in scorn termed them *Geneva Jiggs* and *Beza's Ballets.*"

This is further borne out by what Heylin, the Biographer of Archbishop Laud, says,—"By the preachers of the Puritan party they (the singing of Psalms) came to be esteemed the most Divine part of GOD'S service; the reading Psalms, together with the first and second Lesson, being heard in many places with a covered head; but all men sitting bareheaded, when the Psalm is sung."

It is said of Dr. Cosin, at that time Prebendary of Durham, and afterwards its renowned Bishop, that when sent into custody in 1641, because of the so-called superstitious innovations, the Puritans imagined he had introduced into the Cathedral—when examined before the House of Lords, among other things declared, "that he did not forbid the singing of the Psalms in metre,—but used to sing himself with the people at Morning Prayer."

There is not the least doubt that in after years Psalm-singing became the badge of a party, and therefore it is not to be wondered at that both the Church of England and the Church of France looked with suspicion upon this "infectious" influence, which seemed to tend, unless kept in bounds, to disorder and strife not only in religious services, but also in public life.

It was while singing a metrical Psalm at Antwerp in [illegible]65, when the persecuting Inquisition was being thrust upon the Dutch by Philip of Spain, that the mob burst into the Cathedral, cut to pieces the image of the Virgin, shattered the glorious windows, tore down monuments and banners, trampled on the sacred pictures, and despoiled no less than seventy chapels. "Now when they (the mob) had possessed themselves of the Church, hearing the clock strike the last hour of the day, and darkness adding confidence, one of them (lest their wickedness should want formality) began to sing a Geneva Psalm, and then, as if the trumpet had sounded a charge, they fell upon the Effigies of the Mother of GOD, and upon the pictures of CHRIST and His Saints." *

In London in 1586, when the proclamation against the Queen of Scots was read, the people showed their joy "by the ringing of bells, making of bonfires, and *singing of Psalms* in every one of the streets and lanes of the city."

When Babington (author of the plot to assassinate Elizabeth and free Mary Queen of Scots) and his companions were arrested at St. John's Wood, then really a forest, and the haunt of thieves and outlaws, they were carried to the Tower, the people following, and shouting and *singing Psalms*, while the bells were rung for joy at what the world supposed was the providential detection of a plot that would have reduced London to the state of Haarlem or Antwerp.†

In the sister kingdom of Scotland Psalm-singing found a natural home in the sturdy form of Protestantism which John Knox was seeking to establish. Psalm-singing became a prominent feature of Scotch worship, indeed it was the only congregational part of the Sunday Service.

John and Robert Wedderburn, natives of Dundee, were the Clement Marots of Scotland, and they managed to put the Psalms into vigorous and rugged metre with more of poetry than Sternhold and Hopkins had been able to retain, and these were most spirit-stirring calls to men who sang them with their whole heart and soul, and supplied all their denunciations to the Church of Rome and Queen Mary."

The fanaticism of the early Scotch Reformers was sometimes carried to great lengths, and their hatred of Queen Mary seems only to have been excelled by their hatred of what they considered Popish. They seem to have seized every occasion to inflict unnecessary insult upon their unfortunate queen. When Mary entered Edinburgh, on her accession, we are told that "at a temporary gate of timber" "a bonny bairn," dressed as an angel, delivered to her the keys of the city, a Bible and a *Psalm* Book. The queen handed the Bible to the captain of the guard, which did not please the Reformers. A curious mystery, showing the animosity of some of her subjects, was gone through, but it was soon put a stop to by the Earl of Huntley on account of its ridicule of sacred things.

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* *Strada De Bello Belgies.* Stapylton ; Trans. Bk. V, p. 124.

† Cameos from English History. Cameos CLXXVI.

The play represented the destruction of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, and Korah was actually dressed in the vestments of a priest with a chalice in his hand.

Good Richard Baxter was a Psalm-singer, and his words let in a flood of light upon his home life. "It was not the least comfort I had," he says, "in the converse of my late dear wife, that our first in the morning, and last at night was a Psalm of praise, till the hearing of others interrupted it."

Dame Bridget Bendish, the grand-daughter of Oliver Cromwell, was given to most curious habits. Her usual time of paying calls upon her friends was at nine or ten o'clock at night, and very often at a still later hour!—"about one in the morning she used to put herself on the top of her mare and set off singing a Psalm, or one of Dr. Watt's hymns, in a very loud, but not a very harmonious key." Dame Bridget was, no doubt, a pious woman, but her piety took a peculiar turn.

Thomas Mace, one of the clerks of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1676 gives a curious description of Psalm-singing, and first in his chapter "Concerning Parochial Musick, *viz.*, singing of Psalms in Churches"—he says—"I shall not need to blazon it abroad in print, how miserably the prophet David's Psalms are (as I may say) tortured or tormented, and the service of God dishonoured, made coarse or ridiculous thereby; seeing the general outcries of most Parochial-Churches in the Nation are more than sufficient to declare and make manifest the same, so often as they make any attempt to sing at these Psalms. Therefore I will say no more to that purpose nor rub that sore place, only thus much I will presume to say, *viz.*, that (sure) it were far better never to sing at all in churches or in God's service than to sing out of tune; that is not in Harmonical Conchord or Agreement."

He then goes on to describe the singing of Psalms under difficulties during the siege of York.

The following description occurs in the chapter "Concerning the great Excellency and Eminency of a Psalm well sung":—"I will now, in the conclusion of this discourse, add only one chapter more, in making mention both of the time and place, when and where was heard (I believe) the most remarkable and most excellent singing of Psalms that has been known or remembered anywhere in these our latter ages. . . . The time when, was in the year 1644, the place where in the stately Cathedral Church of the Loyal City York . . . The occasion of it was the great and close siege which was then laid to that city and strictly maintained for eleven weeks' space."

He goes on to tell us how that the Cathedral at Service time was "cramming or squeezing full," on account of the "abundance of People of the best Rank and Quality, *viz.*, Lords, Knights and Gentlemen of the Countries round about," who had come into the city for protection. "It would be considered that if at any Time or Place such a congregated Number could perform such an outward Service to the Almighty, with True—ardent,—inward—Devotion, Fervency and Affectionate-zeal, in expectation to have it accepted by Him."

We are told that "constantly in Prayer-time, the enemy would not fail to make their Hellish disturbance, by shooting against and battering the Church . . . . sometimes a Cannon Bullet has come in at the windows, and bounced about from pillar to pillar (ever like some Furious Fiend or Evil Spirit), backwards and forwards, and all manner of sideways, as it happened to meet with square and round opposition amongst the Pillars. . . "Now here," he goes on to say, "you must take notice that they had then a custom in that Church (which I heard not in any other Cathedral, which was) that always before the sermon the whole congregation sang a Psalm, together with the choir and the organ, and you must also know that there was then a most excellent—large—plump—lusty—fullspeaking—organ which cost (as I am creditly informed) a thousand pounds. This organ, I say (when the Psalm was set before the sermon) being let out into all its fulness of stops, together with the choir began the Psalm. But when that vast concording unity of the whole congregational chorus came (as I may say) thundering in, even so it made the very ground shake under us (O, the unutterable ravishing soul's delight!). In which I was so transported and wrapt up into high contemplation, that there was no room left in my whole man, *viz.*, body, soul and spirit, for anything below divine and heavenly raptures; nor could there possibly be anything on earth to which that very singing might truly be compared, except the right apprehension or conceiving of that glorious and miraculous choir recorded in the Scriptures at the dedication of the Temple; of which you may read in 2 Chron., chap. 5, to the end. But yet beyond this I can truly say it was useful to me in a much higher manner, *viz.*, even as a most lively similitude or representation of the beautiful, celestial, or angelical choirs above, which continually rejoice before GOD, adoring and singing praises to Him, and of Him in all eternity."*

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* *Musick's Monument* or a Remembrance of the best Practical Music, both Divine and Civil, that has ever been known, to have been in the world. Chap. ii, p. 3

Washington Irving in his *Sketch Book* graphically describes the vocal efforts of the village choir :—" The orchestra was in a small gallery and presented a most whimsical grouping of faces, piled one above the other, among which I particularly noticed that of the village tailor, a pale fellow with a retreating forehead and chin, who played on the clarionet, and seemed to have blown his face to a point ; and there was another, a short pursey man, labouring at a base viol, so as to show nothing but the top of a round bald head, like the egg of an ostrich.

"There were two or three pretty faces among the female singers, to which the keen air of a frosty morning had given a bright rosy tint ; but the gentlemen choristers had evidently been chosen, like old Cremona fiddles, more for tone than looks, and as several had to sing from the same book, there were clusterings of odd physiognomies, not unlike those groups of cherubs we sometimes see on country tombstones. The usual services of the choir were managed tolerably well : the vocal parts generally lagging a little behind the instrumental, and some loitering fiddler now and then making up for lost tune by travelling over a passage with prodigious celerity, and clearing more bars than the keenest fox-hunter to be in at the death.

" But the great trial was an Anthem that had been prepared and arranged by Master Simon, and upon which he had founded great expectation Unluckily there was a blunder at the outset ; the musicians became flurried : Master Simon was in a fever : everything went on lamely and irregularly until they came to a chorus beginning 'Now let us sing with one accord,' which seemed to be a signal for parting company: all became discord and confusion : each shifted for himself, and got to the end as well, or rather as soon as he could, excepting one old chorister, in a pair of horn spectacles, bestriding and pinching a long and sonorous nose, who happened to be standing a little apart and being wrapped up in his own melody, kept on a quavering course, wriggling his head, ugling his book, and winding all up by a nasal solo, of at least three bars in duration."

George Eliot, in her *Scenes in Clerical Life* paints the same scene :—" And the singing was no mechanical affair of official routine, it had a drama. As the moment of psalmody approached, by some process, to me as mysterious and untraceable as the opening of the flowers or the breaking out of the stars, a slate appeared in the front of the gallery, advertising, in bold characters, the Psalm about to be sung lest the sonorous announcement of the clerk should still leave the bucolic mind in doubt on that head. Then followed the migration of the clerk to the gallery where, in company with a bassoon, two key-bugles, a carpenter understood to have an amazing power of singing 'counter,' and two lesser musical stars, he formed the complement of a choir regarded in Shepperton as one of distinguished attraction, occasionally known to draw hearers from the next parish. The innovation of hymn books was as yet undreamt of even the new version was regarded with a sort of melancholy tolerance, as part of the common degeneracy in a time when prices had dwindled, and a cotton gown was no longer stout enough to last a lifetime: for the lyrical taste of the best heads in Shepperton had been formed on Sternhold and Hopkins.

But the greatest triumphs of the Shepperton choir were reserved for the Sunday, when the slate announced an ANTHEM with dignified absence from particularisation, both words and music lying far beyond the reach of the most ambitious amateur in the congregation:—an Anthem in which the key-bugles always ran away at a great pace, while the bassoon every now and then boomed a flying shot after them."

In the present day Psalm-singing as described in this paper has quite died out,—the advance of education and other kindred matters have had their effect upon the metrical versions of the Psalm. They suited a certain age and certain minds, and though they were, for a time, on many lips the genuine expression of a heart belief, yet their influence began to decline at the moment they became the party songs of the narrow and intolerant.

In the early days of Christianity the people were content with the Psalms of David as they stand in all their beauty on the sacred page; those days are rapidly coming back again, and the days of metrical absurdity, and often profanity, unconscious perhaps, are for ever gone.

We have but to lament that the Psalms are not upon the lips of all Christian people, of whatever rank or position, as they were in the days of old. The spirit of a life Christianity needs reviving, and with it will come the revival of the Psalms.

Quaint George Wither longed for this in his time, and speaks of birds as prompting us to praise God with Psalms.

His words may fitly close a chapter on Psalm-singing. "And as St. Ambrose saith: How can men but blush to remember that they have begun or ended a day without a Psalm? When they see that Birds, the wilde Quiristers of the wood, are constant to their devotions, both morning and evening, beginning and ending the day with varietie of song. But alas! these are excellencies that the world is not sensible of. If your devotions be so early, as to awake you to the singing of these divine Psalms, there are not many Birds of your feather. But, if you will prevent the day to sing a round to Bacchus, to the tune of the pot, or the Musicke of a Tobacco-pipe, every Taverne and Ale-house hath many full Quires of these Musicians."*

M. A. CAMBRIDGE.

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* *A Preparation to the Psalter*, Chap. xiv, p. 132.

ART. VI.—HOW GERMANY CAME INTO EAST AFRICA.

THE bitterness which at the present day exists between England and Germany has, to a very large extent, its origin in the methods of diplomacy adopted by Prince Bismark. The policy of deliberately attempting to outwit a friendly power, to mislead her ministers and wrest from her, unawares, lands in which her influence has been more or less supreme, would seem bound, in the long run, to provoke some violent expression of British feeling. The ignorance of the average Englishman on most subjects connected with the preservation of the Empire can alone account for the seeming apathy with which our statesmen, Liberal, Radical and Conservative alike, have allowed valuable countries to be torn from their hands by diplomatic intrigue and bluster. The story of the growth of Germany's share in the partition of Africa is one of the strangest chapters in the history of the nineteenth century.

That Germany, so soon as she had secured her imperial unity, should turn to projects of colonial expansion was only what might have been expected, but, surely, it should have been foreseen that this movement, unless carefully watched, would be carried out at the expense of the British interests. The movement was not watched. English Cabinets not only were opposed to measures which would have increased the "already too heavy burden of Imperial responsibility," but they were blind to Germany's intention to become a great "world-power." British Secretaries for Foreign Affairs could not bring themselves to realise that the "irresponsible adventurers" or "filibusters" could have been in possession of the confidence of the German Emperor's responsible advisers. The fact that the German Government, while continuing diplomatic relations, had actually annexed whole provinces, did not in the least disturb the tame policy of Lord Derby. It is perfectly true that by her altogether outrageous annexation of Damaraland and Namaqualand, Germany gained not more than 250,000 square miles, consisting mainly of desert; yet the value of the acquisition is quite an accidental consideration; the principle that the British Government might be manœuvred into any amount of concession-making had been granted. It is not surprising, then, to find that, having succeeded on the West Coast, thanks to the filibuster, Herr Luderitz, an attempt was made through Herr Einwold to secure a port on the coast of Zululand. This step, however, did not succeed. But in 1885 Lord Granville was completely duped by Bismarck's unscrupulous action in sending Nachtigal to the West Coast on a visit ostensibly "to complete information now in the possession of the Foreign Office at Berlin on the state of German Commerce on that coast,"* but in reality to annex Togoland and the Cameroons. With such methods and such conceptions of honour in diplomacy,† the Chancellor set his attention to the formation of German East Africa.

The aspirations of the East African traveller, Von der Decken, had met with a response in the Fatherland. There can be no doubt but that the record of his discoveries and colonial ideals made a very considerable stir in Germany. Nor were his views without a basis in fact. In the fifties the great Hamburg pioneer merchants, O'Swald and Co., had founded a flourishing house in Zanzibar—an example soon followed up by others from Bremen and Hamburg. In 1859 the three Hanse towns concluded a commercial treaty with the Seyyid Majid. Dr. Livingstone had, indeed, raised a strong feeling in England in regard to the slave traffic, but in England at this date there was nothing like the same amount of keen interest in the subject of African colonisation as existed in Germany. The earliest missionaries employed by the London and the Church Missionary Society were German by nationality. The Sultans of Zanzibar, since the Seyyid Said, can hardly be said to have been very deeply interested in the manner in which their revenue was obtained, so long as its receipt was assured. Thus the Seyyid Burghash, more especially, seems to have been anxious to farm out his kingdom to some power competent to protect him against all emergencies, and at the same time secure the payment of a very considerable annual revenue. It would seem that his first instinct was to apply to Germany for such support. "It is probably known to few," writes Mr. Scott Keltie, "that as long ago as 1874 the Sultans of Zanzibar† made overtures for having his territory placed under German protection; but Bismarck knew that at that time there was no chance of obtaining a hearing for such a proposal in the German Parliament, and, therefore, declined it."

The schemes urged on his country by Von der Decken were by no means allowed to be forgotten. In the year following Bismarck's refusal to take Zanzibar under German protection, the Vice-Admiral Lurniss reported in favour of the revival of similar proposal. In 1879, Von Weber again drew attention o the advantages of the district at the north of the Juba River.

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* Study also the curious intrigue related by Busch in *Bismarck some Secret Page of his History*, Vol. iii, p. 144.

† In an early number of this *Review*, I hope to tell the story of the Zanzibar Sultans or Seyyids.

At the commencement of 1885, the apprehensions of the English Government were at last aroused. On January 16, Sir Edward Malet communicated to Count Hatzfeld in somewhat mincing language the request that the Imperial Chancelor should take cognisance of "a considerable uneasiness manifested in the English Press lest the Imperial Government hould have intentions with regard to that country (Zanzibar) which would be detrimental to the independence of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and to the interests of the United Kingdom and of India." Alarm had been caused by a telegram which had been published to the effect that a "German man-of-war, with the Consul of His Imperial Majesty on board, had been ordered to Zanzibar." The Consul in question was Dr. Gerhard Rohlfs, who, during the last few years, had with no small amount of vigour identified himself with the cause of annexation.* "Earl Granville has instructed me," the note continues, 'to inform your Excellency that these apprehensions are not shared by Her Majesty's Government, who construe the assurance given to me by His Serene Highness Prince Bismarck on November 28 last, to the effect that Germany was not endeavouring to obtain a Protectorate over Zanzibar, as meaning that the Government of His Majesty the Emperor considered the country as beyond the sphere of German political influence; but, at the same time, the Government of the Queen think it right to place before the Chancellor the position occupied by Great Britain with regard to these territories." Having alluded to the Canning Award, Sir Edward continues: "Her Majesty's ships have since that time kept the peace in Zanzibar waters, and have maintained an active and successful hostility against the slave trade in the cause of humanity and civilisation: trade has increased, and the safety of the merchants of all countries has been secured. A British line of steamers, subsidised by Her Majesty's Government, and a British telegraph company, maintained communications with the capital and coast ports, and British-Indian traders have settled in large numbers on the island and extended their operations, in harmony with the Sultan's subjects or under the Zanzibar flag, far into the interior, where the Sultan exercises an influence which has now for many years been used for the advantage of the traders of all nations, under the provisions of a liberal commercial treaty."

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* A very unfavourable account—perhaps a spiteful one—is given of Rohlfs in Busch's book already mentioned. Vol. iii, page 145.

In replying to this note, Count Munster professed himself, and, indeed, proved himself, so "unacquainted" with the recent history of the English influence in the Sultan's domains that he actually tried to deny the historic character of the Canning Award—a fact which serves to illustrate the real importance of that event. He also claimed for his Government the equal right, which Lord Granville in his subsequent correspondence did not dispute, of making treaties with the Sultan of Zanzibar. A month later (February 26), Count Munster further explained that the German Consul-General, Dr. Rohlfs, had been commissioned to "exert his influence" on behalf of the execution of section three of the Article of the Berlin Conference affecting the freedom of commerce in the Congo Basin. "By that declaration the extension of the conventional basin of the Congo to the Indian Ocean is conditional on the acceptance of its provision by the independent States on that coast." With this aim of securing "the most favourable conditions for the transit trade of all nations," Great Britain could hardly quarrel, but in the following March it became notorious that, according to the German interpretation of what was meant by 'the most favourable conditions" for trade, territorial acquisition was at least not out of place. It will be now necessary to see what action had been taken in advance of all this paper palaver.

On November 12, Dr. Karl Peters (the same official who was lately dismissed from the public service on the charge of his gross misconduct when in East Africa) accompanied by Count Joachim Pfeil and Dr. Jühlke, disguised as mechanics, and professing to be bound for Liverpool, arrived in Zanzibar. After a conference with Consul-General Rohlfs, they started for the mainland on a treat-making tour This explains Count Munster's reference to the section of the declaration of the Berlin Conference which required "the acceptance of its provisions by the independent States on that coast" as a condition for the extension of free transit from the Congo Basin to the Indian Ocean. The treaties actually made were, of course, made on behalf of the "Society for German Colonisation," but Dr. Peters, on his return to Germany in February, 1885, at once secured an Imperial Charter for his newly-acquired territories. In the Charter, given at Berlin on February 17, the Emperor "accepted the suzerainty," and placed under our Imperial protection the territories in question," and in turn "granted unto the said society, *on condition that i*[illegible] *mains German*, and that the members of the Board of [illegible] or other persons entrusted with its management a[illegible] of the German Empire, as well as to the legitimate [illegible] of this society under the same conditions, the [illegible] to exercise all rights arising from the treaties submitted to us, including that of jurisdiction over both the natives and the subjects of Germany and of other nations established in these territories, or sojourning there for commercial or other purposes."

The nature of these "treaties" calls for some comment. The country covered by these documents which is in the main the nucleus of the modern German East Africa, includes a district of some 60,000 square miles—the hinterland of Bagamoyo. In drafting these treaties, Karl Peters was careful to embody clauses which bear ample witness to a bad diplomatic conscience. While Germany was professing to respect the independence of the Sultan of Zanzibar, her agent was engaged in furtively securing treaties from chiefs whom the Sultan claimed as subjects. Peters, therefore, acted upon the plan of introducing into his treaties clauses repudiating the suzerainty of Zanzibar. Mangungo, Sultan of Msevero, in Usagara, thus was made to declare that he "was not in any way dependent upon the Sultan of Zanzibar, and that he did not know of the existence of the latter." Salim-bin-Hamed described as "four years first Plenipotentiary of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar in Nguru," was induced to declare "that the Sultan of Zanzibar does not possess suzerainty or Protectorate on the continent of East Africa, especially not in Nguru and Usagara"—a native but deliberate falsehood amply rewarded by the final assurance of the declaration: "He solicits Dr. Peters' friendship and receives it." Worthy couple! The treaty with the "Sultana Merimi, Lady of the Province of Makondokwa in Usagara," had on the face of it the character of a bribe. "She is not and never has been dependent in any way on the Sultan of Zanzibar."

It is almost needless to say that these "treaties" were accepted with a charming simplicity by Lord Granville. Count Munster, who seems to have possessed an inspired appreciation of the incapacity of British Governments in African matters, had in February written: "Dr. Rohlfs reports that, if all the foreign representatives work together, the prospects of obtaining this freedom of transit are good." These words are prophetical, only the 'transit' in question must be interpreted to mean the appropriation by Germany of dominions of a power whose independence had been guaranteed by England and France, as well as recognised in previous diplomacy by Germany herself But Dr. Rohlfs had characteristically Teutonic ideas as to the practical meaning of co-operation. By "working together" he meant that he should be allowed to dictate to the Sultan a new commercial policy of which the English Government was to know nothing until it had been authoritatively adopted, and that our representative in Zanzibar should not be suffered to have a voice in the matter. It was not till April 11th that the German Consul-General condescended to explain that the proposed treaty meant nothing more than the extension of the privileges hitherto possessed by the three Hanseatic towns to the whole empire

The Seyyid Burghash could hardly be expected to regard the dismemberment of his dominions, or even the limitation of his legitimate sphere of influence, with the apathy which Lord Granville was wont to display when on similar occasions Great Britain was the victim. On April 27, in a telegram to Berlin, he protested against the annexation of the territories in the Usagara, Nguru, and Ukami. "We protest against this, for these territories are ours, and we hold military stations there, and those chiefs who profess to cede sovereign rights to the agents of the Society have no authority to do so ! These places have been ours from the time of our fathers." The protest was much resented, and Dr. Rohlfs, who had been so anxious to work on amicable terms with his colleagues, at once laid the charge to the door of our English representative, Sir John Kirk. Lord Granville once more fell prone to the occasion. "Sir John Kirk has reported that the Sultan has sent a protest to Berlin, but that there is nothing in the report to show that he had himself anything to do with the protest. Had he instigated it his conduct would have been inconsistent with his instructions, which direct him to maintain a friendly attitude towards his German colleague." It is amusing to note Sir John's telegram of May 1 :—"The protest was spontaneous. Sultan wished to follow in person. I dissuaded him."

The German Government must evidently have felt the necessity of some explanation of such dealings with an independent sovereign; with whom they were actually seeking to conclude a treaty of peace and commerce. Count Munster, therefore, presented an *aide memorie* to Lord Granville, in which he drew attention to the uncertain character of the extent and actual occupation of the lands claimed by the Sultan. In alluding to the contents of this document, Lord Granville recognised "the difficulty in ascertaining what extent of territory he (the Sultan) is justified in claiming," and requested Sir Edward Malet "to state that the supposition that Her Majesty's Government have no intention of opposing the German schemes of colonisation in the neighbourh
Zanzibar is absolutely correct." The English Ministe
accurately surmised that "the Sultan may now be m
posed than he has hitherto been to exercise effectual
over the territories which he can prove to be dep

his rule, and of which the Powers may agree to recognise the independence."

Having secured an Imperial Charter for their new territories in the Usagara, the filibusters proceeded to lengthen their cords. About the year 1869, Seyyid Majid had driven out of Patta its Ghafri chief, Ahmed-bin-Sultan, or, as he was known to the Waswahili, Simba (lion). The deposed chief retired to a place named Kau, situated on the mouth of the River Osi, and gathered round him a following, composed of disaffected Arabs, and semi-savage Gallas and Somali. Driven from this important situation, Simba retreated to a wild but fertile spot, about twenty-five miles from the coast, which he named Witu. Round him speedily gathered a large body of outlaws runaway slaves (*Watoro*), bankrupts, felons, etc., Mr. Haggard, who visited Simba in August 1884, reported that the people here "lived chiefly by plundering the neighbouring Swahili villages, and by selling the captured inhabitants as slaves to the Somalis in exchange for cattle, or not unfrequently back to the Swahilis themselves, from whom they again invariably take the earliest opportunity of re-stealing them." Simba alone, according to Mr. Haggard, possessed no less than 600 slaves. The English Vice-Consul on his first arrival was graciously received, but the same evening he was threatened that unless he would there and then consent to run guns and powder from Lamu to Witu, the consequences, for himself at least, would be painful. "I may here remark," writes Mr. Haggard, "that punishment from His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar, sooner or later, seems to be very generally anticipated at Witu, and I consider it would be wise not to disappoint them, but to destroy the whole colony as soon as possible, and capture their leaders, or, with their rapidly increasing strength, they may very possibly attack him somewhere. Anyhow, if unmolested much longer, the Watoro will succeed in completing the ruin and destruction of this fine country."

The agents of the Society for German Colonisation had now determined to take this delightful Sultan of Witu under their protection. Bismarck's communication on this subject to Count Munster must be regarded as one of the lasting jokes of history. But it is necessary to look back a little to the events which preceded the German intrigues to gain possession of Witu.

The receipt of the Seyyid's protest against the action of Germany in the Usagara had been followed by the news that troops had been despatched under the command of General (now Sir) Lloyd Mathews to thwart the movements of the German filibusters. Sultan Burghash, on May 28, had explained to Sir John Kirk that no additional soldiers had been despatched into the territories claimed by Germany, but that at Mamboya and at two other stations in the Usagara he had for some years kept up military establishments. As for General Mathews, he was believed to be at Chagga in the Kilimanjaro district. When, however, the Seyyid became aware that German agents were actually intriguing with the outlaw Simba, he at once despatched troops to make good his claims. Dr. Rohlfs reported to his Government that a steamer had left Zanzibar with some six hundred men for Lamu. This report gave occasion to the serio-comic document we have alluded.

"England, till now," writes the Chancellor, "had a common interest with us in preventing friendly negro tribes in the interior from falling under the influence of Arab fanaticism akin to the Mahdi movement, and their territories from becoming the scene of a bloody Mahamedan propoganda instead of the abode of a gradually developing culture." Thus the tame soldiery of Burghash, the most tolerant of Orientals, is compared to the fanatical hordes of the Mahdi, and the semi-savage Arab outlaws and their gang of brigand Gallas and Somali are credited with a "gradually developing culture!" But the reference to Egypt and a co-operation of England and Germany may mean more than Bismarck thought it wise to state. A still more ludicrous memorandum accompanied the delivery of this exposition of the Chancellor's feelings. In this latter document Simba is said to have been "most earnest in his efforts to promote the prosperity of his new subjects," and to "have abolished slavery of his own accord throughout the whole of his territory." The memorandum is, in fact, made up of a series of absolute falsehoods, although the concluding statement may possibly be true:—"In the year 1867 Sultan Simba requested the Prussian Government through the African traveller Rich. Brenner, so conclude a treaty of friendship, and to take him under his protection."

However unsatisfactory the claims of the Seyyid to the hinterland might have been, Burghash was prepared to support them as best he could against the filibuster, although he was aware that he would have to give in as soon as the German Government resorted to actual compulsion. With a view to keeping on the wind-side of Count Pfeil and Dr. Jühlke, who were still busy procuring fresh "treaties," General Mathews* was despatched by the Sultan on a formal expedition to Chagga and Taveta, in the Kilimanjaro district. In the previous year, the chiefs in this district had signed treaties with Mr H. H. Johnson, and these concessions had been made over to the President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce to form a basis for an arrangement which, as will be seen, the English Government were about to conclude with the Sultan of Zanzibar. While, then, the Chancellor's Government professed to be desirous of English support in the matter of securing the Usagara district, their agents were actively engaged in securing "treaties" with a view to embarrassing the project, already notified to Prince Bismarck, of a concession of territory to an English merchant company.

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* The General died at Zanzibar early this year. His services to the Empire were more seriously recognised by the Imperial Governments. Sir Lloyd was in many ways a very great man. R. I. P.

By the commencement of June, General Mathews was able to announce the results of his proceedings in the Kilimanjaro district. A declaration had been signed by all the important native chiefs, in the following terms:—

"We, the Sultans of Chagga and Kilimanjaro, do, in the presence of General Mathews and his soldiers and followers, swear that we are the subjects of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar, and that we hoist his flag in the towns of our country to prove our loyalty, and that we recognise him as our Sultan."

The German Consul-General was not slow in protesting against this action on the part of Burghash. In view of the action of Karl Peters and his colleagues, the protest of Dr. Rohlfs is somewhat humorous reading. "Your Highness will yourself know that when so-called annexed countries are taken possession of, this usually happens by international agreement with reservation of the rights of third parties." Could the transactions of the German filibusters be more concisely criticised? Prince Bismarck, however, was at this moment in the act of sending a fleet to Zanzibar waters not, of course, to intimidate, but to assist the royal "third party" to withdraw any "reservations" he might wish to make in regard to the partition of his realms.

In complete disregard of the claims of third parties, Count Pfeil and Dr. Jühlke during the summer of 1885 had been contracting "treaties" with native chiefs. It is hardly necessary to notice these documents in detail: they differ mainly from those secured by Peters in that they attempt to apologise for the fact that the signatory-chiefs were actually at the time of lek's visit flying the Zanzibar flag.* On August 10, the Seyyid ceived an ultimatum from the hands of Commodore Paschen. What might have happened had the Seyyid refused to accept his terms can only be imagined. Count Hatzfeld had assured the French Charge d'Affaires that Commodore Paschen "had no authority whatever to enforce demands of any description by use of intimidation." Yet on June 2 the Chancellor had written to Count Munster in these terms: "We shall be glad if the co-operation of England relieves us of the necessity of using force against Zanzibar and its Sultan; but the necessity is imposed upon us of speedily relieving ourselves from a situation which, for some time, has been an impossible one for the German Empire to accept." Sir J. Pauncefote, in a telegram to Sir John Kirk, stated: "I am directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to inform you that the German Government deny that the German Commodore has received any authority to threaten force against the Sultan. They say that as they are in negotiation with the Government of Great Britain and France with regard to the limits of the territory of the Sultan, they have no intention of attempting by threats to obtain any territorial cessions from them."

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* Seyyid Burghash very justly complained: "These same Germans only got these by means of sovereign letters of recommendation which I gave them, to my officials there."

On August 7, the German frigate "Stosch," bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Paschen, the "Gneisenau," "Prince Adalbert," "Elizabeth," and the steamship "Ehrenfels," entered the harbour of Zanzibar and saluted the Seyyid's flag with twenty-one guns. The arrival of the German Admiral, with two more ships, was expected in ten days. The Commodore lost no time in sending in his master's "demands." Despite the repeated protests of the Imperial Secretary of State, Count Hatzfeld, it soon became quite clear that while there were some points which the Commodore did not intend to carry by intimidation, there was at least one point "on which Germany insisted, and had determined to obtain satisfaction at all hazards," *viz.*, the withdrawal of the Sultan's protest against the German Protectorate in the interior. The highwayman who demands a "free transit of goods," with the intention to secure his demand at all hazards, cannot, according to German principles of diplomacy, be said to employ intimidation as a means to his end! It would seem from Sir John Pauncefote's telegram to Sir John Kirk that the passive attitude of Great Britain in the matter was, to some extent, due to the promise given by Count Hatzfeld that no intimidation should be resorted to. The attitude of France must also have been largely determined by the consideration of such an undertaking. In view of the fact that an International Commission for the delimitation of the Sultan's domains had been agreed upon, the action of Germany in presenting an ultimatum at this stage cannot escape rigorous criticism.

The Seyyid, after a vain attempt to secure breathing space, had no other alternative but to give in. That he conceived himself to be under a menace is clear from the wording of his formal submission: "In consequence of the demand which comes to us from His Majesty the Emperor of Germany *as an ultimatum*, and indispensable to the *commencement of friendly negotiations*, we acknowledge the Protectorate of Germany over the lands of Usagara, Nguru, Usugha, Ukami, and over the district of Witu, the boundaries whereof shall be hereafter defined; we acknowledge over these said places the Protectorate of His Majesty, and undertake to remove our soldiers, and make this known to our officers, who occupy the whole of the places of the coast."

Thus terminated chapter one of the history of German efforts at colonisation in East Africa. We must now retrace our steps a little.

In 1872, the British India Steam Navigation Company, aided by a State subsidy, established a more or less regular line of mail steamers between Bombay and Zanzibar. It was, perhaps, in consideration of the interests of the Company that the Seyyid Burghash in 1877 offered its Chairman, Sir William Mackinnon, a lease of the customs and administrations of the whole territories of Zanzibar, certain reservations of sovereign rights being alone proposed in respect to Zanzibar and Pemba. Failing to obtain the support of the Foreign Office, Sir William found himself bound to decline so tempting but so responsible an offer. In September 1884, Mr. (now Sir) Harry Johnson, as we have seen, had obtained treaties from the native chiefs in the district of Taveta, and on his return to England had handed over these documents to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. Consequently, on May 25 of the following year, Lord Granville, in acknowledging an *aide memoire* from Count Munster, wrote to Sir E. Malet as follows: "I should wish your Excellency, while speaking in this sense to the Chanceller, to inform him that a scheme has been started in this country under which, if it is realised, the efforts of German enterprise may be supported indirectly by British enterprise. You will explain that some prominent capitalists have originated a plan for a British settlement in that country between the coasts and the lakes which are the sources of the White Nile, and for its connection with the coast by a railway. In order to obtain fair security for their outlay, they propose to endeavour to procure concessions from the Sultan of a comprehensive character. Her Majesty's Government have the scheme under their consideration, but they would not support it unless they were fully satisfied that every precaution were taken to insure that it would in no way conflict with the interests of the territory that has been taken under the German Protectorate, nor affect that part of the Sultan's dominions lying between that territory and the sea."

The expression relative to "concessions from the Sultan of a comprehensive character" was under the circumstances not a happy one, and Lord Salisbury, on succeeding Lord Granville at the Foreign Office, at once made it clear that the commercial company based their claims not on concessions from the Sultan, but on the treaties secured by Mr. H. H. Johnson. The Commission for the delimitation of the Sultan's dominion was, however, about to commence its sittings, and the English Government, at the request of Germany, consented to await the result of the deliberation. The Seyyid himself, in a hopeless but dignified fashion, gave his assent to the session of the commissioners, but refused to pledge himself to accept their handiwork. On June 9, 1886, Lord Roseberry, who had taken over the portfolio of foreign affairs, received from the English representative, Lieutenant-Colonel Kitchener, a "Special Proces-verbal containing the unanimous opinions of the Delegates of Germany, France, and Great Britain, with reference to the Maritime, Littoral, and Continental Possessions of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar." Apart from this document, it would seem that, while the French and English commissioners were agreed in recognising the title of the Seyyid to the whole coast line which he had claimed, the German commissioner was only willing to recognise his rights to a certain number of points in it and not the coast intervening. After a very considerable amount of amicable correspondence, Great Britain and Germany, with the assent of France, placed before the Seyyid their conclusions as to the delimitation of his kingdom; the general result of these long deliberations may best be stated in the terms of Burghash's deed of acceptance:—

"We have received your letter dated December 3, and at the same time we received a letter from the Consul-General of the German Government, and we have understood them both as follows:—

"1. Great Britain and Germany have agreed to recognise our Sultanate over the Islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, Lamu, Mafia, and all the islands on the coast. They recognise our Sultanate over a continuous line of coast from the River Minengani, at the head of Tungi Bay on the south, up to Kipini on the north; and the said line commences from the mouth of the Minengani River, and follows the said river for five nautical miles, thence following the line of latitude till the said line strikes the right side of the Rovuma River, an[illegible] crossing the said river, runs down its left bank. From [illegible] the line follows the coast, with a breadth inland of te[illegible] cal miles from high-water mark. And the limit to t[illegible] includes Kau. To the north of Kipini the Governme[illegible] nise as belonging to us the places Kismayu, Brava, Meurka, and Magadisho, with a radius of ten miles each, and Washeik, with a radius of five miles.

"2. We agree to accept the demand of Germany to lease to the German-African Company the customs of Dar-es-Salaam and Pangani, the Company having to pay annually a rent calculated on a percentage of the revenue collected, on a sliding scale, as will be afterwards agreed.

"3. The Governments have agreed to delimitate the following countries, *viz.*, the whole territory bounded on the south by the Rovuma River, and on the north by a line commencing from the Tana River, following the said river or its affluents up to the point where the Equator meets the 38th degree of east longitude, whence it goes diagonally to the point where the 1st degree north latitude cuts the ~~37th~~ degree east longitude, where it ends. This territory is divided between the Powers of Great Britain and Germany by a line drawn from the mouth of the River Wanga or Umba direct to Lake Jipe, passing along its eastern and round its northern shore it crosses the River Lumi, and passes midway between Taveta and Chagga, and round the north side of Kilimanjaro Mountains, and thence runs diagonally to the east shore of Lake Victoria Nyanza, to the place where the 1st degree south latitude strikes the lake. And seeing what they have agreed as to these places which are to be under the influence of Great Britain and Germany, we will not put our hand towards acquiring any fresh place in them without the consent of the two Governments.

"4. We agree to remove our protection from the district of Kilimanjaro, and will make an official declaration on the subject to the Chiefs.

"5. Great Britain, Germany and we recognise that the coast line of Witu stretches from the north of Kipini to the north of Manda Bay, and we will remove all our officials from this piece of coast. With regard to our accepting that this part of our kingdom should be taken from us and given to Germany, we hope that the two Governments will do what is just according to this Agreement, namely, to protect our kingdom from being divided among them by other nations; and then, in consequence of the friendly way in which the two Governments of Great Britain and Germany have asked us to adhere to their Agreement, we are ready to give our adhesion, and for that purpose we have given Mahommed-bin-Salim Mauli full powers to represent us before you and sign the official Convention settling the whole question without delay.

This is from your friend,

(Signed) BURGHASH-BIN-SAID."

At the same time, the Seyyid signed his adherence to Article XXXVII of the General Act of the Berlin Conference of February 20, 1885, but with "the reservation that his adhesion to the said Act shall not entail or shall not be supposed to signify his acceptance of the principle of free trade, which, according to Article I of the said Act, shall not be applicable to his territories in the eastern zone which therein defined, except so far as he shall assent thereunto." From this time forward the subject of the partition of the hinterland lying to the east of the coast district thus recognised as lawfully belonging to the Seyyid no longer concerns the history of the Sultanate of the Zendj.*

On May 25, 1887, Burghash was at last able to make the concession to Sir William Mackinnon that he had so long desired to effect. "To the Corporation or Association under the presidency of Mr. William Mackinnon, hereinafter to be called the East African Association, or the Association who, on their part, agree to accept the accompanying obligations," the Seyyid Burghash leased for a period of fifty years all his powers of justice, taxation, customs, general administration on the mainland strip from the Umba River to Kipini. In return the Comany was to pay "His Highness the Sultan the whole amount of his Customs dues, which he now receives both from import and export trade of that part of His Highness's dominions included in this concession." It will be noticed that the Company's concession was thus outflanked on the north by the turbulent little Sultanate of Witu, which then rejoiced in German protection.

The rest of this chapter must be devoted to the consideration of the stages by which the narrow strip of coast line from the Rovuma to the Umba passed from the Seyyid's rule. According to Article II of the adhesion to the Anglo-German Agreement signed by Burghash, the German Colonisation Association were on certain terms to be allowed to hold on lease the harbours of Dar-es-Salaam and Pangani. This Concession, very considerably expanded, was granted in April, 1888, on terms rather more advantageous to the German Company than had been those of the concession to Sir William Mackinnon in the previous year. During an experimental administration of twelve months the Association was to employ existing local staff, and ascertain approximately the actual revenue. This sum was to be remitted to Zanzibar in monthly payments, the expenses of administration, for which item a limit of 1,70,000 rupees was set, being first deducted. The Company were allowed a commission of five per cent. on the net revenue of the whole mainland coast during the test year. The approximate total of the revenue being thus ascertained, its payment to the Sultan would be guaranteed for a period of years, after which a definite adjustment would be determined. While this bargain was in process of being struck, the Seyyid Burghash died, and was succeeded by his brother Khalifa. The new Sultan, however, accepted the responsibility of his brother's engagements and the arrangement was concluded.

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* In subsequent negotiations "the whole of the magnificent Kilimanjaro region with its fertile slopes and foot-hills, was made over to Germany, a stretch of generosity on the part of the chivalrous Lord Iddesleigh which was scarcely called for." (Scott Keltie, "Partition of Africa." 1st Edition, page 239.)

It was soon to be discovered that for a European power to repudiate the Seyyid's claims on the ground of non-effective occupation was one thing, to establish European administration was another. So far, Germany had established her rights in the hinterland of the Usambara and Usagara, ~~and~~ had secured the lease of the administration of the coast. The native chiefs, who had been ready to accept German friendship in lieu of the possibility of the Seyyid making his suzerainty a real thing, rose in insurrection when they discovered in that reality King Stork had succeeded to King Log. On July 2, 1888, the Rev. S. B. Farler, Archdeacon of Magila, reported to Consul-General Euan Smith that the powerful Bondei chief, Semboja, was preparing for hostilities. At Bagamoyo, the German officials, despite the protest of the Seyyid's representatives, had signalised their coming into possession by removing, in violation of the terms of the Concession, the Sultan's flag-staff from its former position. This gave the surrounding tribes their cue to rise in rebellion. The Imperial authorities subsequently found it necessary to apologise to the Seyyid for this insult on the part of the officials of the Company, but the ill-feeling towards the Germans was too strong for the Seyyid to remedy. At Pangani, General Mathews, despite his former popularity, was driven out of the town. The Indian merchants, whose close connection with the natives render their fears and apprehensions a sort of weather glass to measure the approach of coming storms, deserted Aagamoyo *en masse*. News came from Kilwa* that two Germans with eleven of their servants had been massacred. At Tanga the German gun-boat "Mowe" had to land its men under a severe fire, the new flag had suffered the fate of the old one at Bagamoyo.

The position of the Sultan was a difficult one. On the one hand he was bound by his engagements, and the original contract had, during Colonel Euan Smith's brief absence from Zanzibar been considerably extended. By the Concession of April 28, 1888, the Seyyid Khalifa made over to the German East African Association "all the power which he possesses on the mainland of the Mrima, and all his territories and dependencies south of the Umba River. The administration was "to be carried out under his name and under his flag, and subject to His Highness's sovereign rights." Hence the difficulty created by the arbitrary action of the commander of the "Mowe" at Bagamoyo. The Seyyid was bound to stand by the engagements, but he naturally was irritated by the manner in which the German agents had taken over their concessions. On the other hand the leading chiefs on the mainland coast soon found an early opportunity of informing His Highness that they would altogether throw over his authority if he insisted in placing them under German rulers. Stung to the quick by the cruel indignity in the matter of the treatment of his flag, and further irritated by the action of the representative of the German Company, Herr Vohsen, who mingled appeals for assistance with "long minatory verbal messages," the Seyyid at first positively declined to assist the German Company in their difficulties at Tanga and Pangani, saying that the officials had driven the people into rebellion by the insults, and that he could not send his soldiers to fire upon the people. Herr Vohsen, in despair, at once determined to go on board the "Brava" and look for the German Admiral and his fleet.

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*Kilwa Kivinji on the mainland, not Kilwa Kisiwani the ancient Quilon of Portuguese renown. The present writer witnessed some severe fighting at the former place in 1894, when the German Garrison was attacked by an insurgent tribe, and almost caught napping.

It is hardly necessary to attempt to follow the ensuing events in detail. By prompt and skilful action, Colonel (now Sir) Euan Smith was enabled to prevent the bombardment of Tanga and Pangani upon which Herr Vohsen had set his heart. A compromise, suggested by the Seyyid, according to which he should resume the administration, while the Germans for the time being contented themselves with superintending the Customs through native agents, was provisionally accepted by the German Consul-General, Dr. Michahelles. For the moment the high-handed action of the German fleet in 1885 seemed avenged. "The compromise," writes Sir Euan Smith, "thus accepted inevitably involves, on the part of the Company, a temporary abandonment in two important places, of all the rights obtained by them under the recently-signed concession, as well as the virtual acknowledgment that they are responsible for the procedure which has rendered such abandonment inevitable."

In the meanwhile, Vice-Consul Berkeley* had visited Pangani on board H.M.S. "Algerine" with a view to enquire nto the situation of the British Indian traders. A boat with an interpretor was sent ashore, but was fired on by the natives. The position had become most serious. Never had the people of the Zendj set so firm a front against the European. The provocation originally given to the people of Pangani must have been of a peculiarly grave character, although the statements made by the insurgents are of an obviously exaggerated nature. They complained that "the German flag had been hoisted under the Sultan's, and done so only before the strangers of the town. The Dewans and influential and powerful people were not present, but heard of it next day, and that the Germans had landed a force of soldiers in the town, driven the Wali away by force, and had entered their mosque, followed by dogs; they had broken into the Wali's house and shamefully treated his women, and had broken into the gaol, releasing all the malefactors and prisoners, debtors of Indians, runaways, and others; that they had cut down the flag-staff and flag of His Highness, which he had inherited from his father, Seyyid Said, and under which they had always lived peaceably. They, the Germans, had disgraced their Sultan, and they had also stated a number of times that the country was theirs, and that Seyyid Khalifa was no one; they did not know him; they, the Germans, were the Sultan, not him; and that all who did not obey and recognise them as the Sultans of the coast should be imprisoned and sent to Germany; and also that, if not recognised and obeyed, their ships of war should bombard the place and land soldiers, and do as they pleased with the inhabitants of the town. The twelve soldiers left behind after the German force had embarked, morning and evening walked about outside the town, behaving badly and seizing our women, so much so that nearly all have left the town. In fact, the Germans behaved in such a manner that we could stand it no longer, and the tribes in the interior, hearing and having sent people to see what was going on, also rebelled against the Germans."

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* Afterwards representative of Uganda.

The advice given by Colonel Euan Smith, the representative of the greatest race of Colonists known to history, to the German Consul-General, although in oblique form, has some philosophical interest in connection with the troubles involved in Germany's early efforts in the direction of colonisation: "I informed him that it was my intention to discourage to the utmost, on the part of the British East African Company, any attempt to interfere for some time to come, save in such small details as were absolutely necessary, with the daily life and customs of the people. I would, if possible, limit the Company's operations for the present solely to all that concerned the commercial aspect of their concession. I would advise them to displace none of the old and well-known authorities, and to introduce no new and unintelligible regulations. Lastly, I would discountenance any attempt (even if such were contemplated) to interfere with the Sultan's flag."

In accordance with the compromise suggested by the Seyyid Khalifa, General Mathews had been despatched to Pangani in order to establish an influential Arab in the administration. For years past the General had exercised an influence amongst the natives of the coast superior, perhaps, to even that of the Seyyids themselves. Received at first fairly cordially, he was soon told that the insurgents had determined to levy war with all Europeans alike, and that only out of their respect for him personally would they allow him to escape with his life. The town was strongly fortified, and occupied by a vast number of well-armed native warriors. The German officials had all been removed in safety, and the insurgents had made a solemn undertaking to secure the lives and property of the British Indian traders. Finding himself powerless to effect any good, the General returned to Zanzibar on September 25th.

In the same despatch in which Col. Euan Smith informed the authorities at home of the failure of General Mathews' mission, he expressed the gravest apprehensions as to the safety of the planters and missionaries who had settled down at no great distance from the scene of troubles on the coast. The English Consul at once took steps to secure a safe retreat for the staff of the Universities' Mission at Magila, a spot not twenty miles from the port of Pangani. The Arab Hamisi-bin-Said was deputed to visit Pangani for this purpose, but his boat was fired upon, and when at last he succeeded in landing, he was informed by the chief Bushire that the insurgents "had no quarrel with the English, and as for the missionaries especially, they had never received anything but good from them." "I have given it to be clearly understood," were the instructions of the Bishop of Zanzibar, "that missionaries of the Catholic Church, when they have once settled in a country, and have gained the love of its people, will never abandon it." Having interviewed the Imperial Chancellor at Berlin, Bishop Smythies, who had been in England on an absolutely necessary furlough, at once returned to his diocese.* On November 11, Dr. Smyth sailed from Zanzibar to Pangani, accompanied by an influential Arab, whom the Sultan had deputed to assist the Bishop in every way still possible. Sir Euan Smith had in vain attempted to induce the Bishop to order the station to be closed and the workers to withdraw to Zanzibar, but nothing more could be secure than the promise that the lady-workers should be withdrawn. On reaching the Pangani, the ship was fired on. The Bishop, however, after being delayed for nearly a week, disembarked, and proceeded to the depôt of the mission. The house was very shortly surrounded by an excited mob, and how the matter would have ended if Bushire himself had not come to the rescue can only be conjectured. Standing in the doorway of the little house rented by the misson, the old insurgent chief announced that while he was alive no one should enter to molest the Bishop. A few months later, when the Germans had captured the town, they selected the garden attached to the house, then uninhabited, as the spot for Bushire's execution. After reaching Magila the Bishop wrote home, very warmly, acknowledging the services he had received, and pointing out the very substantial justice in the cause of the insurgent chief. The ladies were sent in safety back to Zanzibar, and save for their absence, the work went on at the great mission station just as if there were no war going on within half a day's march. By remaining with their people, it cannot be doubted the missionaries saved them from attack, and possibly slavery if not massacre.

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* The Bishop made the journey to Nyasa five times in ten
journey thus involving a walk of 450 miles. Besides this he m
pastoral visitations to the Usambara country. On the occ
last appearance at the annual meeting of the Universitie
worn-out appearance created a profound sensation. "Th

The unfortunate Seyyid Khalifa, a man of a naturally morose disposition, on November 8, found himself compelled to assent to a blockade of his continental dominions by his own ships and those of Germany and Great Britain. The policy thus thrust on the Seyyid by the "friendly Governments" must have been a bitter one. His flag had been insulted by the irresponsible action of the officials of the German Company, and the so-called insurgents were beyond all doubt fighting for the cause of Mohammedan independence. "I found His Highness," writes Col. Euan Smith, "in a state of extreme depression. He declared that his acceptance of the blockade would render him most unpopular with his people, and complained that the Germans had given him no chance of restoring his own power on the coast, which, as he asseverated, he would have been able to do had they retired, even temporarily, from the coast-line.'

Bishop of St. Alban's, "you see a soldier who has come home from a great campaign bearing the marks of the battle on his face." About this time, the Bishops appeared on the platform in company with Cardinal Lavigerie to plead for the suppression of the slave-trade.

The Seyyid consented to issue a Proclamation notifying the blockade, but he wrote in bitterness of spirit to Sir Euan Smith:

"As to the agreement regarding the blockade come to by the two Governments, we agree to follow it; but we have neither men-of-war nor people able to stand like your people. What we fear is the disorder in our people, which might result in suspicion towards them that they committed a crime, just as the Company took from us our Askaris (*soldiers*), and after a few days discharged them saying that they, the Askaris, did not do their work properly. From the time of our ancestors until now the people of this type have been serving us, and we use courtesy in governing our people and not force, if, by the help of God, they listen to us. . . . We wrote to you before that by the help of God we could pacify these disturbances without. . . . men-of-war, but you did not agree with us."

The policy of the blockade can hardly be commended. Things went from bad to worse along the coast. Bushire had formed his camp near Bagamoyo, and constant fighting was going on here and at Dar-es-Salaam. "The smuggling of arms and ammunition," wrote Col. Euan Smith, on February 2, "is still extensively carried on, and though the cruisers of the combined fleets have, up to the present, made no captures of this contraband of war, it is an undoubted fact that the tribes on the coast are well supported with both powder and rifles from Zanzibar itself." Another instance of the failure of the fleets to effect the object for which the blockade was instituted is furnished by the fact that all this time Bushire had been importing vast numbers of slaves into Zanzibar itself. Then came the attack on the Roman Catholic missionary station at Pugu which filled the officials at Zanzibar with the gravest fears as to the safety of the C. M. S. missionaries in the Usagara. The station at Pugu had been occupied by a community of seven brothers and two sisters. As the family were proceeding from the mission house to the little church situated close by, they were fired upon by a crowd of Arabs and coast folk. Two of the missionaries and one young girl were shot dead; two persons succeeded in escaping to the bush, and ultimately found their way to the coast and were rescued by the "Leipzic;" the others, together with [illegible] greater number of their converts were carried away captiv[illegible] placed in the hands of Bushire's lieutenant, Suliman-bin-Seif.* A little before this Mr. Brooks, a C. M. S. missionary from Tanganyika, had been murdered in the neighbourhood of

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* Released in March in exchange for captive Arab slave-runners and a ransom of 6,000 rupees.

Saadani. These murders would seem to have been mainly due to Arab slave-dealers who had come Oman in order to profit by the anarchy on the African coast. But disaster followed disaster. The news reached Zanzibar of Arab risings in Uganda and Nyasa, and queer preparations were going on at Mozambique; thus it may be said that the whole of Eastern Africa was in a state of war.

The authorities in the Fatherland were not slow to express their censure on the conduct of the German Colonisation Society, but they by no means intended to allow the East African scheme to die a violent death. The Association, even with the support of the combined fleets, had so far succeeded only in throwing the country into a state of the wildest anarchy. On January 30, therefore, the Reichstag voted the sum of two million marks "for the suppression of the slave trade and the protection of German interests in East Africa." The officials of the Company were now placed under the command of by far the greatest man Germany has sent to Africa, the distinguished traveller who had twice crossed the continent, Captain Hermann von Wiesmann. With nearly 1,000 well armed and trained native troops, some two hundred sailors, and about sixty officers, the Commissioners drove Bushire from point to point until at last he was captured, tried by martial law, and hanged. By the middle of 1890, the interior had been, to all intents and purposes, pacified, and the whole coast from Delgado to the Umba taken well in hand. In the November of that year the Seyyid, after his bitter experiences during the struggle that has been going on for the past two years, was not sorry, now that his old supporters on the coast had been thoroughly humiliated, to sell his remaning rights to the East African German Society for the sum of four million marks. Thus by the end of 1890, of the dominions of the Zendj, the coast from Delgado to the Umba, with its Hinterland, was in German possession, while the British Imperial East African Company had secured the lease of sovereign rights northward to the Kipini river, and the petty Sultanate of Witu held its own, Kismayu was to become the subject of further discussion, and the northern ports were soon to be conceded to Italy. Even the Portuguese, not to be outdone, had a serio-comic bombardment in Turghi Baj.

Another article would be required to describe at all adequately the events which led up to the abandonment of the Witu Protectorate by Germany, and the exchange by great Britain of Helgoland for German recognition of what should never have been allowed to be disputed—Great Britain's right to protect Zanzibar. The importance of the Witu incident lies in its connection with the German doctrines of the Hinterland. If Germany had been able to maintain her footing in Witu, she would have been able to give us considerable trouble when the development of the land of the Nile springs became a political necessity. But the Witu business had its nemesis. The peaceful slave-emancipating Sultan Simba grew weary of his German patrons and apologists. The end was that the German colonists were ruthlessly murdered, and Germany, unable herself to avenge the outrage, appealed to Great Britain to send a punitive expedition to stamp out civilised Witu. And this we did.

WALTER R. FIRMINGER, F.R.G.S.

ART. VII.—SUGGESTIONS ON THE POINTS RAISED BY THE UNIVERSITIES' COMMISSION.

HISTORICAL RETROSPECT.

SOME idea of the ancient indigenous system of Sanskrit teaching may be gathered from the following brief description of facts observable at the present date at one place which is a typical seat of Sanskrit learning.

In Benares there are about four thousand Vidyârthis to-day mostly Brâhmans, who are supposed to be studying Sanskrit.

BOARD AND LODGING.

The bulk of them, about four-fifths, find food, and partially also such simple clothing as they require, in Sattras—alms-houses, established by Indian chiefs and merchants. Some of these Sattras daily give one large meal, in the middle of the day, to 250 or more students. The students content themselves with that one meal. Clothing and books where not supplied by these institutions are provided by the charity of householders amongst whom the Vidyârthis beg freely for them and other miscellaneous help. They live about in all sorts of places; the gardens of the well-to-do citizens, groves, Dharma-shâlâs, in some cases the Sattras, and even pass nights on shop-ledges reading by the light of the earthen lamp provided by the shop-keeper to help the Vidyârthi, for charity and also for the advantage of the indirect watch and ward. The remaining one-fifth or less have either some small private means and residence of their own or live with their teachers, as will be described presently.

PLACES OF INSTRUCTION.

For instruction there are seven or eight organised Pâthashâlâs such as the Government Samskrit College, the Ranavira, Sanskrit Pâthashâlâ, the Darbhanga Pâthashâlâ, the Nagavâ Pâthashâlâ, etc., which teach roughly, about half the total number of students. Of the rest, a large proportion do not really study any thing at all, but waste their time in idleness or worse, living on charity by pretence. A small portion live with private teachers, who teach in their own houses helping their Vidyârthis in many ways to get their food and clothing from families where the Pandits act as priests, on ceremonial and other occasions, and sometimes helping them out of their own pockets. In return they get from these Vidyârthis, offices of Shushrûshâ and service, still keeping up the ancient traditional relation of teacher and student. Some of these Pandits on the other hand are only nominal Pandits and not scholars at all and their following of equally nominal Vidyârthis only a means of gaining a false respectability and its benefits.

HOURS OF STUDY, HOLIDAYS AND RECREATION.

The hours of regular teaching are everywhere almost invariably the hours of the forenoon and afternoon, summer, rain and winter. Hard brainwork immediately after the midday meal, which is particularly disastrous to digestion in India where that meal is the principal meal of the day for rich and poor alike, is thus entirely avoided. Early rising is also necessitated. No work except memorising is done after nightfall, and as a result the health of the Vidyârthi is generally better than that of his compeer of the English-teaching School and College.

There are no long holidays, except in some of the Pâthashâlâs where modern influences prevail, with their consequences of break of touch between teacher and pupil, great waste of time by the pupil during the holidays, and forced rapidity of work for both teacher and pupil during the fewer working days.

Ordinarily, the holidays given are short and frequent; and of these too the majority mean only a change of work rather than complete rest. Even now, though of course to a much smaller extent than before, printed books became available, many of these holidays are spent in writing up the text to be studied in the coming Paksha (fortnight). On others only Veda study is avoided while secular studies are continued and so on.

In the evenings, the teacher, goes out generally into the suburban gardens or open fields or jungle places with his favorite pupils and all enjoy the fresh air, and some take a little regular physical exercise in the indigenous ways, "dips," "sitting up and down," &c.

All this is however diminishing day after day under the pressure of changed conditions. Pandits are beginning to send their cleverest sons to the English Departments of Schools and Colleges, and the necessary mixture of the old and the new under circumstances not yet thoroughly understood and deliberately grasped and guided, is causing much confusion, for the time being, in the educational as well as other departments of Indian life.

COURSES OF STUDY.

With the exception of the Ranavira Samskrit Pâthashâlâ, where some new methods have been very recently introduced experimentally, the usual system of instruction is for a

Vidyârthi to read all the books, whatever the subject, that he wishes to study, with one teacher only. The Vidyârthi generally chooses his subject and also his teacher by the reputation of that teacher as a specialist in that subject, and teacher and student try to stick to each other under a system of mutual yielding without any genuine and thoughtful consideration—there are honorable exceptions—of what is best to study for the Vidyârthi. Thus a student makes up his mind to become an astrologer, or a Dharma-Shâstri, and he at once goes and begins with a Jyautishi or a Dharma-Shâstri. No systematic endeavour is made to master the Sanskrit language or get such a foundation of general knowledge for later specialisation, as is implied in a matriculate in the English Schools.

EXAMINATIONS AND DIPLOMAS.

There are, generally speaking, no formal and set examinations. But 'Shâstrârthas,' public 'Controversies,' "oral attack and defence of theses" at gatherings of students or of Pundits at Sabhâs—(assemblages of Pandits called by well-to-do private persons, on ceremonial or other occasions, where money and other presents are given to them) are constantly taking place, as they used to do between the learned of the middle ages of Europe, and are still practised at some of the continental Universities. At these Shâstrârthas, the promising student comes to the front, and his reputation is built up gradually till he thinks of moving on into the household life. Then he secures a Pratishthâ-pattra or "certificate of learning," in the books and subjects he has studied, over the signatures of a number of the leading Pandits, and generally goes away to his native town or village and sets up as a Pandit himself. The organised Pâthashâlâs have now other methods also, of holding written examinations and conferring degrees, and these are coming to be respected more and more with the changing times.

Such is a mixture of the pathetically noble and of the regrettable and undesirable which constitutes at the present day a true, living, indigenous, residential, teaching Indian University in Benares. The case is more or less similar at other centres of Sanskrit learning, Nadia, Bhâtpârâ and Bikrampore in Bengal proper; Darbhanga and neighbouring villages in the Maithila country; Srinagar in Kashmir; Conjeverom, Kumbhaconum and Srirangam in the Madras Presidency; Poona and Pattan in the Bombay Presidency and so on.

RESULTS.

The result of this system is that a whole generation of Vidyârthis, counting many thousands, produces only about half-a-dozen real scholars and Pandits, a score or two of average ones, and a balance of many thousands of mere smatterers who do not know either the Sanskrit language or their own vernacular thoroughly, and are unable to put together a sentence correctly, while posing all along as specialists. The Pancha-Drâvida students that come to Benares have a better grasp of the Samskrit language for special reasons; they are forced to speak Sanskrit for want of another medium of communication, and the method of teaching the language to boys is better amongst the Mahârâshtra and other Southern Pandits. They begin with Kâvyas side by side with very elementary grammar; instead of inverting the natural order and beginning with the Sutras of Panini and postponing Kavyas indefinitely.

Some points of this system are worthy of imitation, *e.g.*, the provision of free board for students, which, in India, has hitherto been left to the charity of the Dharmârtha Departments of Indian States and of great and small merchants. In modern Europe and America it is being revived on a higher scale by the large millionaires of those fortunate countries, but it is declining here for economical and other reasons. The methods of examination by oral debate, &c., the hours of study; the system of holidays; the evening outings of teacher; and taught, wholly or partially, are also worthy of careful consideration and imitation.

Other points are equally worthy of thorough amendment, *e.g.*, lack of systematic supervision of the physical and moral life of the students, lack of well-considered courses of study, and lack of some instruction in Western knowledge. If these amendments are made happily, the result should be a much larger number of averages, as is the case in the English-teaching Schools and Colleges, a wholesale diminution in the number of smatterers, a small increase in that of the exceptional scholars and a bringing closer together, and a mutual leavening and lightening of the old Eastern learning and of the new, from the West.

TEACHING UNIVERSITIES.

The objects of a University are (1) advancement of knowledge in its widest sense and (2) popularization of knowledge. In order to realize both these objects a University ought to be a teaching as well as an examining body. The Indian Universities are in one sense both teaching and examining bodies inasmuch as they require every student who goes up for their examinations to study in an affiliated institution, differing in this respect from the London University which was a purely examining body for over sixty years of its life and had no rules for the affiliation of Colleges. The principal difference, then, in one sense, between the Indian Universities and those of Oxford and Cambridge is that here the Colleges are scattered all over the land, while there they are gathered within the limits of particular cities. But there are insurmountable difficulties in the way of making the Indian Universities teaching ones as well, in the complete sense. The only way to do that fully is, either to raise all the existing Colleges to the standard of separate Universities with their own Senates, Syndicates, and Fellows, or to shift the Colleges, at present scattered throughout the length and breadth of India, to the University centres. Neither of these proposals seems feasible. A teaching University means the same body combining in itself the functions of a teacher, an examiner, and a bestower of degrees, having, at the same time, all its students, resident as is the case with the existing Medical and Engineering Colleges in India. Now to convert all existing Colleges into such Universities in India is financially impossible and the other alternative, of concentration, would be disastrous to the spread of education in view of the vast areas to be dealt with.

But despite all these difficulties, no University deserves that name unless it becomes a teaching body in the complete sense. We are, therefore, of opinion that the Universities should be as they are, so far as Bachelors' degrees are concerned, *i.e.*, merely examining bodies; and that their own teaching functions should begin after these examinations, *i.e.*, for the M.A., D. Sc., D. Lit., and L.L. D. degrees. It may be advisable to have recognised professors for such post-graduate courses. Any other restriction of authority to teach, for the lower courses, would not suit the conditions of this country, but tend largely to check education.

Universities should also institute certain scholarships for post-graduate studies in Science and Literature, as is now being done by the Bengal Government for the Calcutta University. These scholarship-holders may also be required to give a series of popular lectures in some one Vernacular, on Scientific and Literary subjects on the lines of the University extension system in England.

Besides this, the Sabha would suggest that eminent professors from Europe should be invited for six months every year to the University centres at, say, £1,000 for the term to give a series of lectures on post-graduate studies. India cannot offer sufficient attractions to induce scholars, like Professor Ramsay, Lord Kelvin and others, to remain here for some years, but to induce them to remain here for a few months may not be difficult. Let every University invite one professor each, and let the arrangements be so made that each of them may give a series of lectures for one month at each of the University centres. Some such arrangement will probably not be difficult to make, and will, it is hoped, stimulate the students to look to a higher ideal, and the permanent staff to a greater efficiency. It would also be well if either French or German be prescribed for post-graduate studies, as many of the most important works of Science and Philosophy are to be found only in these languages.

In order to realize to some extent the advantages of University life, all students, who have no accredited guardians in the College-towns, should be compelled to live in the Boarding Houses attached to the particular college in which they study, so far as the available accommodation will allow. It would be very useful if Professors and Teachers were encouraged to live near their Colleges and Schools. If houses were provided for them, as is done in some Colleges for the Principal and the Head-master, and as is done for public servants in some other departments of the service, they would readily do so and could take charge of resident students. An effective and economical extension of the Boarding-house system would thus be secured to Educational Institutions. It will involve only an initial expenditure on buildings; while the advantage gained will be an approximation of each College to a Teaching University in some important respects.

With regard to the Bachelor's examination in Arts, we would submit that the distinction between pass and honours courses should be uniformly introduced as it now exists in the Calcutta University. It is not at all necessary to raise the standard of these examinations any higher than is implied in such a distinction. They are already sufficiently stiff and high for all practical purposes of life. The Government does not want specialists for the ordinary public offices. The examinations should be easy enough for the majority of students, and every facility should be given to undergo and pass them. For those, and they would naturally be few, who have the opportunities and the inclination to acquire wider and deeper knowledge in any subject or subjects, higher examinations should be instituted, *viz.*, the D. Sc., and the D. Litt., etc. The Sabha would advocate the institution of these higher degrees, with a course of lectures in such of the Universities as have not already got them. The institution of a high degree for literature is especially needed. The Punjab University has already the M. O. L. and D. O. L. degrees, and in Bengal the Arts branch of the Premchand Roychand Scholarship examinations serves the same purpose in some respects. These should be systematised into a uniform "D. Litt." degree.

For the ordinary F. A. and B. A., examinations it should not be compulsory for all candidates to attend a course of lectures in any affiliated college and to produce a term-certificate before they can be admitted to the examination. The Madras University Rule (pp. 48 and 54, Pt. I of the Calendar for 1901-02) may be adopted as regards such. In the Madras University, every candidate is required to take up three subjects for his B. A. examination and he has further the option to appear in any one subject or in any two subjects or in all the three subjects in any one year. If he passes in any of these subjects, he is not required to present himself again in that subject in the following years. The examination fee is also charged separately for each subject, *e.g.*, English Rs. 12, second language Rs. 6, Science Rs. 18, etc. These are very salutary rules and the Sabha strongly recommends their adoption in all universities, as tending to produce far better graduates than are at present being turned out, inasmuch as the candidates will have an opportunity to study thoroughly all the subjects of their examination. This system does not produce graduates in any way inferior to those turned out under other systems, as the extra period given to the study of different subjects is in itself a compensation for any possible defect of quickness. Education should be given for the sake of education only, for its enlightening and broadening effects, and its progress should under no circumstances be handicapped. It is therefore not desirable that the B. A. standard should be made more difficult than it is at present; rather, indeed, every facility should be held out to candidates to obtain the degree of Bachelor of Arts. For similar reasons, we would suggest that students failing in one or two subjects in the F. A. examination should be allowed to go up again in that subject or those subjects only, next time. The system was taken up by the Allahabad University, but was given up without a fair trial. A higher minimum of passmarks might well be fixed for such subsequent examinations.

The only serious objection which can possibly be taken to this view is that, thereby, a large number of half-educated men are thrown upon the world's market of employees, with the same hall-mark without distinction between better and worse. The reply to this is that the *distinction* is amply provided for in the classification of passes into divisions and again into passes and passes with honors. Secondly, the institution of post-graduate studies and degrees will also necessarily create a new standard of ability for the public to judge by, and will give the Bachelor's degree its proper place and value, *without*—and this is a very important consideration—subjecting youth to the devastating wear and tear of forced rapidity of study and compression of heavy work within short periods. Such a method, while, no doubt, bringing into relief the brilliant, does so, with an elimination of the weak, that may well be characterrised as cruel in its consequences of shattered nerves and permanently injured health. The brilliant, also thus brought into relief are less fit for afterwork and bear lasting marks of the strain. Recent statistics produced before the Senate of the Madras University show that very few B. L's are to be found who have survived the gaining of their degree for twenty years or more.

LAW.

When attempts have not been made to centralize the Arts and Science Colleges it is not at all advisable to have a Central College for Law only. First grade colleges, provided they can make efficient arrangements for the study of law, should be freely affiliated for the B. L., or L. L. B. degree, as is now done in the Calcutta University. The fact that the bulk of the Law administered in this country is codified, neutralises all the special advantages of centralising legal studies; while a positive disadvantage may be seen illustrated by the Madras University where the Professor cannot make himself properly heard by the huge class of 250 or 300 students. Three or even two Readers in Law, with a good law library and arrangements for occasionally showing to students the actual conduct of cases in the local Courts, provide all that is needed for an efficient study of law.

We would further suggest that term-certificates should not be required from practising pleaders, provided they fulfil other conditions regarding qulification, etc., as they get a far better training than any college could give.

The fact that the High Courts hold their own examinations for Vakils and Pleaders, and that the outturn compete successfully at the bar and on the bench with holders of law degrees, is a strong fact against centralisation and term certificates. Here we would observe that the lately-growing practice of asking questions on case-law is to be deprecated. A precise or extensive knowledge of case-law should not be expected from the L. L. B. examinee; at this stage more attention ought to be given to the principles underlying enactments.

We would further like to see the higher study of law properly encouraged. L. L. D's, should be granted some more privileges in practising in courts and in getting higher judi
appointments than L. L. B's. Persons holding the
degree of any university should be allowed to practi
the High Courts of the various provinces and the s
lege should be extended to the holders of the L. L.
subject to their passing a local law examinat

provided for the purpose in each province. This is actually being done for the Allahabad High Court Vakils and L. L. B's who wish to practise in Oudh. They should also be required to study Hindu or Mahommedan law in the original Sanskrit or Arabic works. It often happens that cases dealing with complicated points of Hindu or Mahommedan law come up before the courts and it is not perhaps too much to ask the L. L. D. students to study at least one of those laws in the original.

So also the variations in the names and natures of the law degrees and examinations (some universities having a first L. L. B., others an Honour's Course after the L. L. B., others giving M. L. and D. L. degrees, while others stop short at the L. L. B.) might be all reduced to two examinations,—the L. L. B. and the L. L. D.

ENGINEERING.

It is invidious to make provincial and racial distinctions in admissions and in the giving of scholarships and posts to students in technical colleges, as for instance in Roorkee. The usefulness of such institutions is seriously marred when such restrictions are made.

These colleges should be brought under the rules of the Universities, and admission into them should be under such rules as would be applicable to all. We do not see any reason why restrictions of race, class and creed should be put upon persons seeking admission to these Colleges. The Roorkee Engineering College is affiliated to the University of Allahabad and there is also a Faculty of Engineering in the university. But we do not quite understand what this affiliation, and the institution of the faculty mean, when the University has no hand in prescribing the syllabus for examinations, or in holding the examinations, and has no degrees to confer.

The position of the Roorkee Engineering College seems anomalous in the Allahabad University calendar. It is a separate University in itself, but still affiliated to the University of Allahabad, although the University is impotent to move in any matter connected with that College.

We would strongly recommend that the Roorkee College examinations be brought directly under the control of the University like other Arts and Science Examinations, in conformity with the practice of the Universities of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, where the Universities prescribe the courses and confer degrees.

The present diversity in the titles conferred by the different Universities for their Engineering degrees should be done away with, and one uniform nomenclature be introduced all over

India. For instance the L. C. E. and M. C. E. of the Bombay University, C. E. (1st Exam.) of Punjab, B. E. of Madras and B. E. of Calcutta should be all amalgamated into two degrees of B. E. and M. E. We would in addition suggest that the system of appointing professors from such a close body as that of the Royal Engineers should be done away with, and the staff be selected from amongst experts in the various branches.

MEDICINE.

As regards the medical examinations, we would recommend the establishment of a Medical College in the United Provinces under the control of the Provincial University, conferring the M. B. and M. D. degrees, as is the case in the other Universities. This could be easily done by raising the Agra Medical School to that standard and affiliating it to the local University. The L. M. S. title, which is not a degree proper, but only a license for practising, might well be abolished. The appointments on the staffs of the Medical Colleges are mostly made from the Indian Medical Service, and the same objection to making selections from a limited class applies to this branch of study as to that of the Engineering. The system becomes pernicious when the Professors are shifted from chair to chair and from professorships to the medical charge of stations. The Commission can well see how unsuited this arrangement is for professorial work.

In all the Medical Colleges, there should be a separate department for the study of the Ayurvedic and Yunânî systems, which being indigenous to the country are suited to the constitution and purse of the people, and are more sought after by the general public than the English system of medicine. It should also be remembered that these systems are practically the only indigenous physical science left in the country and that is possible by judicious encouragement and development of them to revive a wide-spread interest and original research in the more or less closely-connected sciences of anatomy, physiology, botany and chemistry. Recognition of these systems and their scientific study would be productive of much good and save the Indian people from the hands of the quacks who are a danger to society, and a pest to the country, and whose number is unfortunately on the increase. Such classes, we would suggest, should be held in the vernaculars, and such subjects as anatomy, surgery, etc., should also be included in the curriculum. This will tend to make Ayurvedic and Yunânî students competent Vaidyas and Hakims, and thus remove a want very keenly felt by the Indian public. We would further suggest that the University should provide the students of this department with a separate system of examinations and degrees as is being done in the Punjab.

AGRICULTURE.

India being principally an agricultural country, the need of a systematic and scientific training in that department is very keenly and generally felt, and no system of University Education could be complete without the providing of a diploma for that branch, as is done in the Bombay University. A nucleus already exists in the Cawnpore Agricultural School. It could easily be raised to the standard of a college and connected with the University, as has been proposed above in regard to the Medical and Engineering Colleges.

TEACHERS.

Examinations in teaching should be held by the Universities. There is a training college at Allahabad which combines in itself the three functions of a teacher, an examiner and the license-conferer, and is directly under the control of the Education Department. We would like to see its examinations held under the control of the University as is done in Madras, and as is proposed to be done at Calcutta.

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE.

We do not see any necessity for limiting the spheres of influence of the Universities; firstly, because there are no Universities in some provinces, and secondly, the standards of the different Universities differ, as also the monetary value of their degrees. So long as it is thought reasonable to permit differences of rules and courses of study and conditions of examination to exist between different Universities, it seems also reasonable to allow discretion to students as to which University they shall obtain degrees from. It seems hard, to put it mildly, that a boy on this bank of the Ganga should have to wait for two years after fourteen to matriculate, when the boy on the opposite bank can do so without any such expenditure of time; and again that a student in Cuttack should have to keep his brain on the rack working at three or more subjects year after year till he gets his degree from Calcutta, while another dwelling in Berhampore can take his B. A. from Madras in two or three years without any such strain and stress, working easily and healthfully. The question of practical difficulties in preparing a student at a college affiliated to one University, for the examination of another University, may safely be left to be settled between the staff and students. Indeed, such preparation would itself be a great guarantee against cram; and, as a matter of fact, even to-day it often happens that boys studying, *e.g.*, in an 'U.' P. School, go up as private students for the Calcutta Entrance for special reasons, such as that their mother tongue is Tamil or Telegu, for translations from and into which the Allahabad University has no provision. Students have also recently been going up for the Allahabad University Examinations who, though wholly or partially prepared in Bombay schools, have been driven thence by the plague. If all the Universities were reduced to absolute uniformity then perhaps such option might be less useful or necessary, but even then could anything be pleaded against it? And in any and every case, one great argument in favour of such option would always be that parents might, and would often like to, send their children to an institution in another province, especially circumstanced as regards religious teaching or moral atmosphere, or boarding-house accommodation and arrangements, and yet be desirous that the boys should take the degree of their own province. Even if the standards were made uniform, which it would be advisable to do for more than one reason, it is but reasonable that the different Universities should evince greater interest in particular branches of study as is the case with the Oxford and Cambridge Universities. Under these circumstances every college should be free to get itself affiliated to any one or more Universities, provided it fulfills the conditions of affiliation imposed by them.

SENATE.

It is true that in some Universities the senates have become too large and unwieldy. The senate of the Allahabad University is almost as it should be in regard to its numerical strength. There is not the least doubt that some of the fellowships have been conferred as mere compliments. The senate in almost all the Universities has shown greater discretion in electing fellows than the Government has done in nominating them. Some of the Government nominees do not know a word of English, and have not the least insight into educational questions. Such nominations should be discontinued. The Government have many other recognised means of awarding public services not connected with education, than with fellowships.

We would propose that the number of fellows in the different Universities be limited to any number between 125 and 150.

With regard to the qualifications of fellows, we would suggest that all persons who are engaged in educational, literary, and research work and take some active part and interest in educational problems, or who have distinguished themselves in other departments of public life, should be eligible for fellowships, which should be vacated by non-attendance, at four consecutive meetings, or for two years continuously. But those persons who leave India for good or for more than two years, should cease to be fellows from the date of their departure from India. With regard to the tenure of a fellowship, the Sabhâ would urge that neither a very short term nor a permanent appointment would be conducive to the welfare of the University. The former is likely to lead to a great deal of undesirable canvassing, besides preventing the fellows from having sufficient time to master their duties thoroughly; while the latter will have the undesirable effect of keeping on old and effete members and preventing the infusion of fresher blood.

In the opinion of the Sabhâ ten years would be a fair and reasonable length of time. This of course does not preclude their being re-elected. All vacancies should be filled up as they occur in their respective spheres, *i.e.*, by the Government, or the senate, or the graduates, as the case may be.

We would propose that the fellowships be thus distributed—Chancellor, Director of Public Instruction, Inspectors of schools and Principals of all first and second grade Colleges and of all technical and professional Colleges, to be *ex-officio* fellows. The remaining fellowships should be equally divided between the Government, the senate, and those graduates who have completed a five years' standing, or have taken higher degrees, such as the M. A., D. Lit., D. Sc., M. D., M. E., LL.D

SYNDICATE.

With regard to the syndicate we see no objection to its being placed on a statutory basis, provided the senate has always full control over it, and its bye-laws are framed by the senate.

The Syndicate of the Madras University consisting of only nine syndics is much too small. That of Allahabad, consisting now of twenty syndics, comes nearer the proper standard.

We would suggest that it should consist of 12 syndics as is the case in the Punjab, and carry on, by means of sub-committees, the merely routine work. These sub-committees should meet about ten days before the regular monthly meetings of the syndicate to dispose of all such work.

The election might be thus made:—

Vice-Chancellor; Director of Public Instruction; 5 nominees of the Principals of Colleges; 4 of the Faculty of Arts; 3 of the Faculty of Science; 3 of the Faculty of Law; 2 of the Faculty of Medicine; 2 of the Faculty of Engineering.

A member of the syndicate not attending three of its meetings consecutively should cease to be a syndic, and a fresh election should then be made. The selection of syndics should not be restricted to any one town, as is the case in

Calcutta and Madras. The syndics to be elected for two years. There is great diversity of practice at present about this.

Non-Government Colleges are not adequately representted on the Syndicate. But the system proposed above will remove this defect.

FACULTIES.

In our opinion every fellow must belong to one of the faculties. It is no use electing a fellow if he is not competent to belong to one of the faculties. It will be useful if the different faculties and boards of studies consult selected teachers and graduates as to the selection of text-books, &c., which is one of their principal functions. The election to fellowships should not be made by the faculties. The Government, the senate and the graduates should make the required number of nominations and elections from amongst competent candidates. The faculties must meet at least once a year, if not twice.

GRADUATES.

We would suggest that for the purpose of the election of fellows by the graduates and for the consultation of the graduates by the faculties, as suggested above, a 'Convocation of graduates' on the lines proposed by Dr. H. Wilson in 1883 in Madras, be formed. A Bill was drafted by the Senate of Madras University for the formation of such a convocation. This would keep the graduates, after they had finished their University career, in close touch with University life and produce a healthy effect by stimulating their literary and educational life. We are strongly of opinion that each University should keep a directory of its graduates.

We would further suggest that the calendar of the University should be broken up and published in parts thus, as is done in Madras:—

(1) Part I to contain Acts, Rules, Bye-laws, Scholarships and lists of affiliated Colleges, etc.

(2) Part II to contain questions papers.

(3) Part III to contain a list of successful candidates and graduates authorized to vote on questions connected with the university.

The calendar should, besides, have a complete index of subjects, fellows, graduates and prizeholders, etc., as in Bombay, and should contain the dates of the senate and syndicate meetings, the last dates for receiving applications for examinerships, etc.,—briefly, all such information as the public can take action on, to prevent suspicions of hole-and-corner procedure, in view of the fact that the minutes are not accessible to the general public, while the calendars are.

Universities may be empowered to confer *ad eundem* degrees on application only from persons engaged in teaching in affiliated Colleges.

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS.

The small percentage of passes is rather due to the varying standard of the examinations from year to year, than to any laxity in granting certificates by the principals of Colleges. We believe that any interference by the University in the internal management of distant Colleges, on any such ground would only be harmful. On the question of supervision of the physical and moral welfare of students we do not see how the University, as a body, could undertake it actively. The matter should be left entirely in the hands of the heads of the Colleges, especially as under the scheme suggested, *all* of them will be fellows and many even syndics.

No proper attention is paid at present to societies and common pursuits so as to bring the different institutions into closer touch with one another and thus foster a genuine University life. It would be advisable that athletic, literary and scientific societies should be established in the different centres of education in which the professors and the students could take a lively interest. Such societies, if formed under the fostering care of the different Colleges, would bring the teachers and the taught nearer to each other and create an atmosphere conducive to the further prosecution of studies and a high standard of public life.

AGE-LIMIT AND FOUR YEARS' COURSE.

We are decidedly against the fixing of any age-limit for the Entrance Examination. We see no reason for reviving a system which, after a fairly long trial, was found to be prejudicial to the interests of education, and was given up by the Calcutta and Bombay Universities, as also by the London University, from which it was copied. The main argument in favor of fixing a high age-limit is that it will prevent premature forcing. Let us see how far the advocates of this are consistent. They are the very men who would insist on a better knowledge of English and the other subjects, a greater preparedness for the College-career; in short, in the Entrance, and who would also reduce the College course from four to three years. But all this means a stiffening of the Entrance course and examination, and a reduction of College studies. And if this is done, where remains the professed advantage of the special age-limit ? It becomes only a change of name, and a change for the worse. What was before expected of the F. A. is now expected of the *entrant*, with the evil consequences mentioned elsewhere. It should also be remembered that the average age of Entrance students to-day is fifteen ; the exceptions of boys passing at an earlier age are very few, and may safely be ignored. Still again, until the desire of parents to push on their boys is modified—and this modification is concerned with politico-economical conditions, which a true statesman who sees the intimate connection between all departments of a nation's life, should certainly take into careful consideration in dealing with education—the practical difficulty of ascertaining the true age of the student will be very great; and the rule may only prove an unwholesome incentive to lying. We, on the contrary, who advocate consistently the healthy popularisation of knowledge by absence of too much severity and stress in studies and examinations, and would adjust the market-values of the courses and degrees by the institution of post-graduate courses and degrees, plead for option in the matter of age as in a number of other matters, and would not reduce the College course from four to three years. The Bombay University, after a thirty years' trial of a three years' course, were convinced of its defectiveness and adopted a four years' course. Much more wholesome than the fixing of any age-limit or reduction of the College-course, etc., would be the gradual introduction of restriction against the admission of married boys into the school department, as is being done by the Central Hindu College, Benares. We would here suggest that the school final examination should not act as a bar to any students who wish to continue their studies in the College classes. This effectually prevents many from going up for that examination. The school final being a harder test than the Entrance Examination, it is only reasonable that the successful candidates should get all the advantages of the Entrance-passed students.

UNIVERSITY TEACHING.

We have already said that universities should not be teaching bodies so far as the B. A., B. Sc., B. Lit. and LL. B. examinations are concerned. That function should only begin after these examinations, *i.e.*, for the degrees of M. A., D. Sc., D. Lit. and LL. D.

The statement that many boys begin their College studies without a sufficient knowledge of English is true, and this is mostly due to the multiplicity of subjects, which prevents the giving of sufficient time and attention to each, and to an injudicious selection of text-books for the school classes, and a bad system of examinations, which is ever on the look-out for tripping up the poor examinees on some nice point of grammar or a recondite allusion, and never cares to test the amount of colloquial English acquired by the student. It is also due to bad teaching which is inevitable as long as the pay and prospects of the school teachers are not bettered. Another contributing cause is the very large number of boys a single teacher is required to teach. No teacher of languages in the lower school classes can effectively teach more than fifteen to twenty boys in an hour. The teacher not only requires good knowledge and sound methods of teaching to enable him to do his work well, but also a great deal of interest in his work. To secure this end it would be desirable to improve the pay and prospects of the lower-grade teachers as also to secure for them a reasonable retiring pension. Lastly, the late beginning of the study of the English language is also a strong reason for the insufficient knowledge of it possessed by the Entrance students. It is generally recognised that languages, like physical accomplishments, are best learnt early.

The selection of text-books for the school classes is solely in the hands of the Provincial Text-book Committee, in which the educated public has no voice. The selection of text-books for school classes is a matter of primary importance, inasmuch as it forms the basis of higher education, and in our opinion our universities are lamentably wanting in the amount of consideration which should be bestowed on the subject. The matter should not be left merely in the hands of a provincial committee, whose selections of text-books have not impressed us with their judiciousness. Sometimes the head of the department takes a liking to some book and it is continued to be prescribed, despite all text-book committees, and even the Government, *e.g.*, MacMillan's Primer has been condemned not only by the Provincial Text-book Committee but also by the school education commission of Mr. Roberts, appointed by Sir Antony MacDonnell, and still it continues to be the course. The greatness of the task, and the difficulty of doing it properly, are evident from the fact, that occasionally even the selection of text-books made by the University is not all that it should be. We would recommend that suggestions and opinions should be invited more extensively from professors and teachers actively engaged in educational work before finally deciding upon text-books, both for school and college.

With regard to the study of Greek and Latin we are of opinion that there is no necessity whatsoever for including these languages as compulsory in the curriculum of the Indian Universities. They should of course continue to be optional as at present.

(1) We are firmly of opinion, that for acquiring a fluent and correct knowledge of colloquial English, it is mere waste of time

spending it in the acquisition of a purely nominal knowledge of the two classical languages of the West. What is really helpful is a pretty wide reading of Victorian authors.

(2) The study of these classical languages is being given up in Germany and other European countries, and modern schools are being formed without them and are working satisfactorily.

The classical languages of the East, however, deserve a place in the University curriculum. The training in Sanskrit is bad and defective. There are no good books for beginners. Dr. Bhandarkar's 1st and 2nd Books of Sanskrit are largely used and have no doubt served a good purpose all these many years. But they are capable of improvement. The exercise sentences should be articulated on to each other instead of standing isolated as they now do, and the exercises should be more progressive in ideas as well as in difficulty of words and construction. Blackie's Greek Dialogues and Storm's French Dialogues may be imitated profitably in many respects. Besides this we are of opinion that the Sanskrit language should, as a matter of course, be written in the Devanâgarî characters. The Calcutta University introduced the Devanâgarî character for its Sanskrit examinations some years ago under the influence of Mr. Justice Gurudas Banerjee, but it has reverted to the older practice recently under less wholesome influences.

In connection with the study of Sanskrit, we cannot refrain from deploring the present system of teaching the language in the different Oriental Colleges. Specialisation commences as soon as the student has learnt the alphabet and without having gained any knowledge of his mother-tongue. Cramming is encouraged to the utmost, and Sutra after Sutra in grammar and philosophy is committed to memory without a real grasp of its bearing. The ability to express intelligently what they have got up is at a minimum. The inevitable result of this teaching is that the majority of students are turned out year after year who are supposed to be specialists in one or two subjects, but who are unable to write a sentence correctly in Sanskrit on any ordinary every-day subject, and whose knowledge of the Vernacular is almost nil. This is a deplorable state of things. We would propose that the Sanskrit Colleges be brought under the control of the Universities and specialisation should only be allowed after the students have attained a fair mastery of not only a vernacular but also of the Sanskrit language.

Even the Government Sanskrit College of Benares, European supervision almost ever since its foundati not been able to resist the baneful influences of unen conservatism surrounding it. To go a little into deta

The full course of studies extends, theoretically, years; *i. e.*, two years to pass the Prathama or first examination, four years to pass the Madhyama or middle; and six years to pass the Uttama or highest examination. Practically, students start studies in the College with the Madhyama examination. It is not necessary to attend lectures for the Prathama or the Madhyama, or even to pass the Prathama examination.

1. Specialisation begins much too early. The Madhyama examination may be passed either in Vyâakrana or Nyâya, or Jyautisha (Elementary, Mathematics and Astronomy). There is no provision for the supply to all students of such necessary knowledge as that of the elements of Arithmetic and Geography and History; and the candidates for Nyâya and Jyautisha, and even those for Vyâkarana, are not taught a sufficiency of such books, and in such a manner as would give them a good working knowledge of the Sanskrit language.

2. The selection of course-books is defective. In some of the subjects books are prescribed which are almost entirely unavailable. Original ancient books and commentaries are prescribed only as alternatives with later and inferior works. Thoroughness is not aimed at; pieces and patches from different works are prescribed, where the systematic study of one complete book from beginning to end, would be much more useful in the interests of coherent knowledge; thus in the Vyâkarana-course for the Uttama examination, only a very small piece is prescribed of the Mahâbhâshya, the recognised and authoritative commentary on Panini's aphorisms. Again small pieces only of different commentaries on the Siddhânta Kaumudi are laid down for study. Not many decades ago, the custom used to be to study at least one commentary complete, from begining to end, on the Kaumudi. The case is the same with the Mimânsa and other courses.

3. Two of the most important branches of Sanskrit learning, Veda and Vaidyaka, have no chairs at all. There was provision for the study of the Vedas at first, but it was abolished for some reasons not quite clear.

Astrology and Karmakânda are not taught, though the former could easily and naturally be included with Jyautisha and the latter partly with Mimânsâ and partly with Dharma Shâstra. It is true they are not supported by modern science, but still they form an integral portion of every Hindu's life, and as such deserve recognition and accurate study.

Dharma Shâstra and Pûrva Mimânsâ, two of the most important branches of Sanskrit learning, are not at all encouraged. So far as I have been able to find out, not one student has passed the Achârya examination in Mimânsâ and not more than three or four in Dharma Shâstra, althoug the latter has a living value even at the present day, being not only the basis of the personal law of the Hindus as administered by the British Courts, but being, to a still greater extent, the guiding authority in all domestic and caste ceremonial in their daily life.

Similar charges of neglect can be brought against Vedânta and Nyâya.

Only two subjects are really popular for the final examination, Vyâkaraṇa and Jyautisha.

4. No attempt is made to instigate original development and research. Whatever the conditions may have been twenty or thirty years ago, it is not impossible now to teach English as a second language in these Oriental Colleges. If this were done systematically, their students would be in a position, not only to properly appreciate and utilise the historical and comparative methods of study and research brought to bear upon these studies by the enthusiasm and industry of Western scholars, but would also be materially able to check their sometimes hasty generalizations, and advance their knowledge along those lines.

5. None but Vidyârthis on the rolls of some College are allowed to go up for the highest examination. Even ex-students, and although engaged in educational work, are not permitted to do so; while freshly-arrived outsiders, if they only get their names registered a few weeks before the examination as Vidyârthis of any one of the Pandits of the College (each theoretically supposed to be the Professor of some one special subject), can go up in any subject they like. No exemption from College-attendance is made even in the case of persons already holding the Achârya degree in another subject.

6. Examiners are appointed only from among the Pandits of the College; and in one subject—the Jyautisha—the teacher of the subject is the sole examiner year after year. The undesirability of this state of things has been pointed out in detail below, and we need not farther emphasise the point here beyond the remark that the evil exists in a much intenser form in this College. It should not be difficult for the various Oriental Colleges to interchange examiners, or even to find perfectly competent men from amongst private teachers.

Such are a few of the matters on which improvement is possible. But even more than such amendment in details is a change in the whole spirit of the institution needed. If one of the many visitors to Benares from Western lands were to stand in the hall of the Government Sanskrit College and ask: Are habits of independent research and criticism inculcated in the Vidyârthis of this ancient institution? Has it produced even one great work on any of the subjects taught, or helped to advance knowledge in any department? What has it done for the vernaculars of the country? We could answer only "no" and "nothing"! And perhaps we might add sadly: It is a mere paleontological museum for the preservation of fossils! The students are wholly ignorant of History and Geography, even of their own country; entirely out of touch with the progress of the world, living in a Trishanku's paradise with eyes fast closed to the realities of life; conservative babies conserving they know not what; doctrinaires untouched by the influences generated by living contact with the myriad activities of the world; still discussing in their prudest senses the twelve kinds of sons and the fiery nature of gold; self-sufficient in a barren scholasticism, which Europe discarded centuries ago, afraid and yet pretending contempt of the onward march of the larger life of the world.

The late Dr. Ballantyne endeavoured to infuse a healthier tone into this pitiable state of things, and encouraged the study and translation of Western authors, both in Science and Philosophy, and he did it with so much tact and so much sympathy that the Pandits of Benares still remember his name with affection and with respect, notwithstanding that he led them into alien and untrodden ways. But unfortunately the fate that has dominated the indigenous life of India for very many centuries now, that regeneration shall be exceptional and personal, and degeneration general, has asserted itself here also, and though the successors of Dr. Ballantyne have all been men learned in various ways, none of them have kept up the spirit of his work.

The Indian vernaculars are wholly ignored by the Universities, and there are not many graduates who could express in their mother-tongue their thoughts on paper, about some scientific or philosophical subject with accuracy, elegance and ease. To diminish this admitted evil we would propose that in the Intermediate Examination, English should have four papers: (1) Prose, (2) Poetry, (3) Translation from Vernacular into English, and (4) an essay in the vernacular. No books in the vernacular need be prescribed for the examination.

Similarly in the B. A. examination there ought to be four papers in English: (1) Prose, (2) Poetry, (3) essay in English, (4) essay in the vernacular or any particular period of that language.

In the school classes text-books should be prescribed in the vernacular and not a syllabus. Students should be thoroughly grounded in their mother-tongues in the school classes.

In this connection, we would further suggest that each University should be required to recognise all the Indian vernaculars which have printed literatures. The Allahabad University is very backward with regard to this matter.

Coming to Mathematics, we see no necessity for its being stiffened year after year, and being compulsory even for those who take up the literary courses, for, to the majority of students a knowledge of the Binomial Theorem, Logarithms, Parabola, Sines and Cosines will be of no use in after life. It is a useless tax on the memory of the students and it leads to no practical results. We would, therefore, recommend that it be an optional subject for the F. A. It would be far more useful to teach Economics, Logic and Ethics which prepare men for the struggle of life. The London University has always had Mathematics as an optional subject.

We may here incidentally mention that the Mathematics Course for the lower school classes is simply crushing. The absurdity of the course is so patent that it needs only to be pointed out to be admitted. For instance, practically the full course of Arithmetic required for the Entrance Examination has to be mastered in the vernacular by the time the young boy of about ten to twelve has got through the sixth class.

THEOLOGY.

We do not think it desirable in the present state of things to provide chairs for comparative theology. It would cause endless difficulties and troubles, and would produce no tangible results. Religious instruction should be left in the hands of the different private institutions. Government should avoid interfering in this matter for the present. It may be possible later on, if the different religious communities succeed in producing recognised text-books of their religions, for Government to give them facilities for teaching them to their children, even in Government Schools and Colleges.

EXAMINATIONS.

Too many public examinations are the curse of the Indian Educational System. We would be glad to see all departmental examinations replaced by school examinations. This would naturally throw more burden and responsibility on the individual Head-Masters, which would be a move in the right direction. Similarly we would deprecate the holding of more than one examination between the Entrance and the B. A., as is done by the Bombay University; it is only a relic of the days when it had a three years' course for its graduation. One of the two might be abolished with advantage. This would bring that University in line with the others.

In short we would advocate the adoption of a uniform standard for the University Examinations all over India, as also the bestowal of the same titles for the same examinations.

The question of the nature and number of examinations deserves very serious and thorough consideration. If a truly satisfactory solution of this is arrived at, many other vexed questions, *e.g.*, the regulation of the methods of teaching, the age limit, the length of the college course, etc., will solve themselves. Generally the examinations should be more extended and leisurely than they are: oral debates and practical tests should form part of them as far as possible. The extra trouble and expense involved is well worth undergoing. To spend millions on the means, and stint thousands on that which really guides those means to their real end, is far from real economy.

EXAMINERS.

A University is the highest educational body in a province and its acts must be above suspicion. With regard to the suppression of the names of examiners we would strongly represent that the old practice of making them public be reverted to. It serves no useful purpose to suppress their names; besides they are really never kept secret, but mostly become known to the students.

Further, some of the subjects have been monopolized by particular professors in the United Provinces. For example, we would mention the English Translation paper (vernacular into English). The worst of the whole thing is that the vernacular pieces set for translation are invariably ungrammatical, unidiomatic and ill-constructed. A fine piece of English is mangled, by some person or persons unknown, into the different vernaculars connected with the examinations, and these vernacular pieces are set at the examination for retranslation into English; these retranslations again are compared with the original as a standard, and naturally fall far short of it, for they represent neither English thought and idiom, nor Indian. We do not see any reason why only persons, whose mother-tongues the vernaculars are not, should be considered competent for these examinerships. In our opinion there should be as many different persons to set the papers as there are recognised languages. This is not only the case in the translation examinerships, but also in most other subjects. We would request the Commission to get a statement from the Education Department showing the names of the examiners (and their present posts) of the Middle Examination for the last ten years. From such an enquiry it will appear that persons of very indifferent abilities have been appointed in many cases to be examiners. The information on this head will enable the Commission to get an insight into the way in which matters are managed by the Education Department. We would further suggest that examiners should be largely appointed from other provinces to avoid all complaints of unfairness and to remove much heart-burning. The remuneration of the examiners, of the F. A.

and Entrance, should be higher, and the practice of appointing the same person to examine higher and lower classes at the same time in the same University, and sometimes in more than one University, should be carefully avoided as it necessarily leads to slipshod work.

We would also suggest that, in cases recommended by the Head of the College or the School, the answer-books ought to be re-examined on the payment of certain prescribed fees.

The marks obtained by examinees, especially the failures, should always be communicated to the Head of the College or the School concerned, to enable the teachers interested to detect the weak points of their students and to try to make up their deficiency.

There should not be one centre only for the degree examinations. For the Allahabad University, we would like to see Allahabad, Lucknow and Agra recognised as centres for examinations for the graduation degrees.

There are already more centres than one for the Entrance and Intermediate examinations, and in the view we take of what the graduation courses and examinations should be, there is no more reason for centralisation in the case of the latter than in that of the former; in the Province of Madras, a candidate may have to remain twenty-four hours in the train before he can get to the examination centre. In the Bombay Presidency, for even forty or fifty hours in a steamer or a train coming from Sind. He cannot very well leave many days beforehand for fear of wasting time, so precious immediately before the examination; and also because of the trouble of arranging a prolonged accommodation in a strange place; and the strain of a long journey, if it is at all severe and persistent, if it causes a headache, or excessive exhaustion, or a slight rise of temperature, may prove disastrous to the student's answer-papers. It also happens now and then that when there are many candidates and accommodation in the examination-hall is limited, students from the outside Colleges do not get the most (physically) comfortable places during the examination; and to be placed in a verandah with the sun beating on one in comparatively warm weather is not helpful to the quality of the answer-paper. All such disadvantages would be obviated if there were many centres of examination. This applies to all the Universities.

We would further suggest that in all the subjects there should be a number of optional questions in order to have a thorough test of the knowledge acquired by the student. This will greatly prevent cram. Also, to guard against the vagaries of the different examiners, the old system of printing in the margin of the question papers the marks assigned to each question should be revived. We might make another suggestion in this connection. The present practice of dividing answer-books among a number of examiners, though the questions have been set by only one, is clearly inimical to a uniform standard of appraising the papers. This would be obviated if the Cambridge system of dividing the question paper into three or four sections and handing over to one examiner all the answers of one section were followed.

Regarding the appointment of examiners, we would suggest that they should be made by the Boards of Studies, and Principals of Colleges should be requested to recommend competent teachers and professors for the said appointments. Examinerships should not be the monopolies of one or two Colleges only. In the Allahabad University the Registrar fixes a date within which all applications for examinerships must reach him, but this date is never printed in the calendar, with the natural consequence that a good many applications reach him too late. This needs immediate rectification.

Here we would request that the examination dates should be carefully reconsidered in the interest of the students. The different universities have been experimenting with the dates for a long time past and it is quite time now that they arrived at a satisfactory and permanent conclusion. We would only suggest that work in the six months of the cold weather should not be interfered with for examination or vacation purposes.

REGISTRAR AND STAFF.

In our opinion each University should have a full-time Registrar with a competent staff to carry on the work of his office promptly and efficiently. The present pay of the Registrar is too high. A graduate of some European University is not a matter of necessity for the post of a Registrar, whose duties are mostly clerical, and Indians could easily be found who are quite competent for the post. When Indians are found competent enough to be vice-chancellors, it is strange that they should not have been found competent enough to be Registrars. Rs. 300 to 400 will, we think, be ample salary for a competent Indian, and so mean economy too. In our opinion some of the Universities have not always used wisely their power of appointing full-time Registrars. It goes without saying that the duties of a Registrar require a man of active and alert habits and it is not advisable to appoint persons who have served their full term in the Government service The fifty-five years retiring rule might, with great advantage, be enforced.

AFFILIATED COLLEGES.

The discipline of all Government and aided Colleges is not only looked after by the Principals but also by the Directors of Public Instruction. Besides, as all of these will be fellows, under the scheme suggested above, and a good many among these even syndics, the University will have, for all practical purposes, efficient control over the discipline and the teaching, and this latter will also be fairly and fully tested by the results of a freely conducted Public Examination. No new rules and provisions in this respect seem necessary.

In our opinion the rules regulating the affiliation of Colleges to the Allahabad University are unusually and unnecessarily strict. It is highly desirable that they should be relaxed.

INSPECTORSHIPS.

Although this question has not been raised by the Commission, we think it advisable to record our views on it, for in our opinion it has an even more direct bearing on college education than on school education.

Generally speaking, no Professor whose mother-tongue is not a vernacular should ever be appointed to be an Inspector (1) because he is a specialist and not an all-round man, (2) he has no experience of executive work, (3) his knowledge of the Vernaculars is worse than elementary and it is scarcely fair to expect a specialist to waste his time acquiring a mere smattering of an India vernacular, (4) he is not in touch with school education to which the Inspector's work is confined, and (5) it is a culpable waste of power to take away a specialist from his proper work to wander about amongst Primary Schools. A Head master on the other hand would have all the needed qualities; (1) the daily necessity of supervising the work of a score of teachers of different subjects, is sure to make him an all-round man, (2) he will have plenty of experience of executive work, (3) his knowledge of the vernaculars is sure to be deeper and more accurate than that of a non-Indian Professor, (4) he will know everything about school management. Of course, it is understood that a Head master, to be eligible for an Inspectorship, must be the holder of a high degree and have received a broad and liberal education and be equipped with sound theories and principles

FEES.

We would earnestly request the Commission to move the different governments with a view to reconsider their decision as to the levying of high fees. The policy is extremely harmful to the interest of the Indian public. Unfortunately in India, there is a large class of poor people who have both the brains and the willingness to receive higher education, but they are hampered in their efforts by the high scale of fees which they can ill afford. It has always been the practice of the Hindu and Musalman governments not only to supply free education, but also free board and lodging as was the case also in old Christendom. The present idea of making the students contribute towards their education, is entirely opposed to the traditions of the country. From this it will appear that all the modern cry of cheap education and underselling is the cry of an interested class. Even now, in those Colleges, where either no fees or nominal fees are charged, it is a mistake to suppose that the education is cheap, because the direct recipient has not to pay for it. May it not be safely questioned, if the money value of the thing is always commensurate with its intrinsic value? Did the Government, when it charged smaller fees provide in any way "cheap" education? The same Professor with the same salary taught as much and as well when the learner paid less for it. The quality of education now given cannot be said to have changed for the better, because of the enhanced rate of fees. It has only succeeded in placing fetters on poverty as poverty. In the case of private institutions charging small fees it is distinctly not cheap to the friends and sympathisers, who by their voluntary subscriptions keep up such institutions, or to the staff, who at great personal sacrifice to themselves work on merely subsistence allowances. It may be worth while to note here that the Government itself does not charge any fees at all in some of its Institutions *e. g.* the Sanskrit College at Benares. We are credibly informed also that the Paris University charges no fees. In this, as in many other connections, it should be well borne in mind that a system that is suited to England is by no means necessarily also suited to India. In fact it is very often directly unsuited, because of the great difference in the conditions of life.

The Sabhâ would strongly recommend that unpaid managing committees, in charge of Educational institutions, should be allowed a freer hand in their management, especially in the matter of those schools not receiving any Government aid; such bodies should be left completely unhampered by the departmental rules as regards the choice of text-books, courses of study, examinations &c. It will give the minority of earnest educationalists a chance to carry out their own views, and thus succeed in providing an object-lesson on the correctness, or otherwise, of their educational theories which, if successful, could be adopted later on in the Government institutions.

In conclusion the Sabhâ would earnestly implore the Government not to check the growing interest felt by Indians in the education of the youth of the country, by imposing on the land a rigid and cast-iron scheme, which does not take into account the immense variety of needs existing in this great continent. The traditions of Indian disjoin, rather than conjoin, wealth and learning. The learned man in India has generally been poor. The lads who are most likely to grow up into supporters of learning, into loyal peaceful citizens, into useful servants of the Government, come from the old but poor families in which high intelligence seems to be hereditary and poverty the prevailing characteristic. These are being more and more shut out from western education.

The Sabhâ therefore urges that, while the Government insists on efficiency in the teaching staffs of all Colleges it shall leave free as to their internal arrangements, unaided Colleges which are governed by local responsible bodies, and shall allow private munificence to supply the funds needed for the support of these "low fee "Colleges.

The Sabhâ feels that a too rigid system, however well-meant, will seriously impair the efficiency of education, and it prays the Government to become the fostering parent of all thoughtful efforts to help the educational movement rather than be its opponent. Thus will Indians, grateful for a policy that recognises their needs and their traditions, become ever more closely welded into the great Empire of which, by Divine Providence they form a part.

Benares. GOVINDA DASS.

ART. VIII.—A HISTORY OF THE BENGAL HIGH COURT

FROM THE TIME OF THE OLD SADAR AND SUPREME COURTS, TOGETHER WITH NOTICES OF EMINENT JUDGES, BARRISTERS AND VAKILS.

(Continued from April 1902, No. 228.)

CHAPTER III.

THE reputed Raj of "The Grand Old" Company was about to complete its centenary of regnal years, and to all appearances there was nothing to disturb the even tenour of its course, when all on a sudden a little cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, was seen looming in the distant horizon. A slight breath of wind followed, which, it was believed, would soon subside, but, as if to humble the pride of humanity in respect of its pretended knowledge of future events, it ere long grew both in violence and volume and rapidly spread like wild fire from one end of Hindustan to the other. The British Lion was roused by this thunderous uproar, and looking around found himself, to his surprise, surrounded by a thick solid wall of infuriated rebels. Nothing daunted, he raised a tremendous cry, at which all India shook to its very foundations. A life-and-death struggle ensued, in which both parties fought with all the might they possessed. As for the mutinous Sepoys, they strove hard with desperate fury, and it was apprehended that if their military operations had been properly directed, they might have compelled the English to pack off from this country with bag and baggage. But fortunately for our dear fatherland, their misguided valour only the more rushed them into ruin, and at last victory favoured the cause of the foreign rulers. The land which for months and months together was one continued scene of death and desolation—"the waste of war"—again smiled with peace, and the people went about their usual avocations with redoubled energy aud diligence. Taught by bitter experience, the Authorities at home thought that it was not advisable to keep the government any longer in the hands of the East India Company, and, accordingly, an Act was passed by the British Parliament, known as the Government of India Act, whereby it was declared that India was thenceforward to be governed by and in the name of Her Majesty the Queen of England. This material change in the policy of Government was announced by royal proclamation* on the memorable first day of November in the year of grace 1858. The Honourable East India Company, which had had such a wonderful career, ceased to exist as a governing body, and although it lingered on for some years as a trading corporation, which it originally was, it had lost all its lustre and remained as a sad relic of its former power, pomp and greatness.*

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* This proclamation is justly regarded as the Magna Charta of the natives, and is couched in language which deserves to be recorded in characters of gold. The concluding words are very significant :—"In their prosperity will be our strength ; in their contentment our security ; and in their gratitude our best reward"

By the aforesaid Government of India Act, which was passed on the 6th of August 1861, Her Majesty the Queen was empowered to establish, by Letters Patent, High Courts of Judicature in the several Presidencies of India. Section 2 of the Act provided for the constitution of such Courts. It enacted among other things that the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal should consist of a Chief Justice and as many Puisne Judges, not exceeding fifteen, as Her Majesty might, from time to time, deem proper to appoint, and that these Judges should be selected, *first*, from barristers† of not less than five years' standing; or, *secondly*, from members of the Covenanted Civil Service of not less than ten years' standing, and who should have served as Zillah Judges, or should have exercised the like powers as those of a Zillah Judge for at least three years of that period; or, *thirdly*, from persons who had held Judicial Office not inferior to that of Principal Sadar Amin‡ or Judge of a Small Cause Court for a period of not less than five years; or, *fourthly*, from persons who had been pleaders of a Sadar Court or High Court for a period of not less than ten years, if such pleaders of a Sadar Court should have been admitted as pleaders of the High Court: § Provided that not less than one-third of the Judges of such High Court, including the Chief Justice, should be barristers, and not less than one-third should be members of the Covenanted Civil Service. Section 3 contained the other proviso which was to the effect that the persons, who, at the time of the establishment of such High Court, were Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature and permanent Judges of the Court of Sadar Diwani Adalat of the Presidency, should be and become Judges of such High Court without further appointment for that purpose; and the Chief Justice of such Supreme Court should become the Chief Justice of such High Court. Section 4 provided that all the Judges of the High Court, established under the said Act at Fort William in Bengal, should hold their offices during Her Majesty's pleasure, but this would not prevent any Judge of the Court so established from resigning such office of Judge, to the Governor-General in Council. As questions of precedence amongst Judges were very likely to arise now and then, provision was accordingly made by section 5, whereby it was declared that the Chief Justice of such High Court should have rank and precedence before the other Judges of the said Court, and that such of the other Judges of such Court as on its establishment should have been transferred thereto from the Supreme Court should have rank and precedence before the Judges of the High Court not transferred from the Supreme Court, and that, except as aforesaid, all the Judges of the High Court should have rank and precedence according to the seniority of their appointment, unless otherwise provided in their Patents. Section 6 provided for the salaries and pensions of the Judges of such High Court. It enacted that any Chief Justice or Judge,* transferred to any High Court from the Supreme Court, should receive the like salary, and be entitled to the like retiring pension and advantage as he would have been entitled to for and in respect of service in the Supreme Court, if such Court had been continued, his service in the High Court being reckoned as service in the Supreme Court, and that, except as aforesaid, it should be lawful for the Secretary of State in Council to fix the salaries, allowances, furloughs, retiring pensions, and (where necessary) expenses for equipment and voyage of the Chief Justice and Judges of the High Court under the said Act, and from time to time to alter the same: provided always that such alter-ation* should not affect the salary of any Judge appointed prior to the date thereof. Section 7 provided for a vacancy in the office of Chief Justice or other Judge. If there was any vacancy, either permanent or temporary, in the office of Chief Justice, the Governor-General in Council was to appoint one of the Judges of the same High Court to perform the duties of the Chief Justice until some person had been appointed by Her Majesty to the office of Chief Justice, and he had entered on the discharge of the duties of such office. And in the case of a like vacancy in the office of a Puisne Judge, the Governor-General in Council was to appoint a person, with such qualifications as were required in persons to be appointed to the High Court, to act as a Judge of the said High Court, and the person so appointed should be authorised to sit and perform the duties of a Judge of the said Court until some person had been appointed by Her Majesty to the office of Judge of the same Court, and he had entered on the discharge of the duties of such office, or until the Governor-General in Council should, in the case of an acting appointment, see cause to cancel the appointment of such acting Judge. It should be observed that although a vacancy in the office of Chief Justice could not be permanently filled by anybody but a barrister-at-law, there was nothing to prevent an ordinary Puisne Judge from holding the office before a permanent man was appointed to it. Accordingly, when Chief Justice Garth took leave, as Mr. (afterwards Sir) Romesh Chandra Mitter was the senior Judge actually serving in the country, he was appointed by Lord Ripon to officiate as Chief Justice. This preferment, of which there was no precedent, was disapproved of in some quarters, but there were others of the opinion that the Governor-General's action was justified although the appointment had no parallel in the annals of British rule in India or elsewhere.

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* Referring to Lord North's Indian Act of 1773 and the Charter Act of the next following year, Lecky says that by the one "the charter of the East India Company was completely subverted, and the Government of India passed mainly into the hands of the Ministers of the Crown;" and by the other "the whole constitution of the Company was changed, and the great centre of authority and power was transferred to the Crown." (*History of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii., ch. 13.) But, as a matter of fact, the change was not complete until the first day of November 1858, when the Company was denuded of all its powers and was allowed to exist only as an ordinary body of merchants, which it did until 1874 when it was formally dissolved. See Ilbert's *Government of India*, p. 4.

† Section 19 provides that the word "barrister" in the Act shall be deemed to include barristers of England or Ireland, or members of the Faculty of Advocates in Scotland.

‡ Now termed Subordinate Judge.

§ Thus, the High Court Judgeship was thrown open to the natives of the soil. This was quite in consonance with the letter and spirit of the royal proclamation of the first of November, 1858, which, among other things, declared that, "so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge." Accordingly, Babu Rama Prasad Roy, the great luminary of the native bar, was nominated to a seat in the newly-established Court, but a fatal illness prevented him from occupying it even for a single day.

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* Nothing was said in particular about the salary of the Judges transferred from the Sadar Court, or of those who were newly appointed, but it appears that there was no difference in the salary of the Puisne Judge; it was Rs. 50,000 a year all round, or, to speak more accurately, Rs. 4,166 a month.

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* The last time that alterations were made on the subject was on 25th April, 1899. It is to be observed that the salary of the Chief Justice or Acting Chief Justice of the Bengal High Court has always been the same, *viz.*, Rs. 72,000 per annum. The salary of a Puisne Judge was first reduced to Rs. 45,000 a year. On the said 25th of April, 1899, however, it has been raised to Rs. 48,000 per annum, provided always that every Judge of the said High Court, appointed before the 18th day of January 1881, shall get Rs. 50,000 per annum. (See Rule 4.) Rule 27 provides that a Chief Justice of the Bengal High Court after an actual service of eleven and a half years as Judge of the High Court, of which period at least five years and nine months shall have been as Chief Justice of the Bengal High Court, shall receive a pension not exceeding £1,800 per annum. Rule 29 provides that a Puisne Judge, after an actual service of the same period as aforesaid as Judge, shall receive a pension not exceeding £1,200 per annum.

For the purpose of defraying the expenses of equipment and voyage from Europe on first appointment, there shall, as provided by Rule 40, be allowed to a Chief Justice or Judge of any High Court £300. But no such allowance shall be made to any person who, being in India, is appointed to the office of Chief Justice or Judge, or who, having been in India, is in Europe at the time of his appointment with the intention of returning to India.

Section 8 made a very important provision, and its importance has special reference to the matter with which we are at present concerned. It enacted that upon the establishment of such High Court, as aforesaid, in the Bengal Presidency, the Supreme Court and Sadar Courts at Calcutta should be abolished, and that, as a matter of necessary consequence, the records and documents of the Courts so abolished should become and be records and documents of the High Court established in their stead. The provision of the next following section is more important still. It enacted that the High Court which was to be established under the aforesaid Act should have and exercise all such civil, criminal, admiralty and vice-admiralty, testamentary, intestate and matrimonial jurisdiction, original and appellate, and all such powers and authority for, and in relation to, the administration of justice in the Presidency, for which it was established, as Her Majesty might, by such Letters Patent as aforesaid, grant and direct, subject, however, to such directions and limitations as to the exercise of original, civil, and criminal jurisdiction *beyond* the limits of the Presidency Towns as might be prescribed thereby, and save as by such Letters Patent might be otherwise directed, and subject and without prejudice to the legislative powers in relation to the matters aforesaid of the Governor-General in Council, the High Court established in the Presidency should have and exercise all jurisdiction and every power and authority whatsoever in any manner vested in any of the Courts in the same Presidency abolished under this Act at the time of the abolition of such last-mentioned Courts. Thus the section provided that over and above the jurisdiction and powers which might be conferred upon the Court under the Letters Patent establishing it, it should have and possess all jurisdiction and all powers which had vested in the Courts abolished under this Act, subject to the directions which might be made in the Letters Patent, and also subject to the provisions which might be made by the Governor-General in Council in exercise of his legislative powers in relation to matters aforesaid.

By section 13 power was given to the High Court to provide for the exercise, by one or more Judges, or by Division Court constituted by two or more Judges of the said Court, of the original and appellate jurisdiction vested in such Court, in such manner as might appear to such Court to be convenient for the due administration of justice, the Chief Justice being authorised by the next following section to determine what Judges should sit alone or in Division Courts. By section 15 the High Court was empowered and authorised to have superintendence over all Courts which might be subject to its appellate jurisdiction, and to have power to call for returns and to direct the transfer of any suit or appeal from any such Court to any other Court of equal or superior jurisdiction and generally to frame rules of practice for the guidance of such Courts.

The above are substantially the provisions of the Government of India Act, and in pursuance of this Act Letters Patent were issued by Her Majesty under the seal of the United Kingdom on the 14th of May 1862, constituting the High Court of Judicature for the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William. The Court so constituted, it was provided,* should consist of a Chief Justice and thirteen Judges. The first Chief Justice, who was the last Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was Sir Barnes Peacock, *Knight*, and of the thirteen Puisne Judges seven were transferred from the Courts abolished and six were new appointments. Of the seven Judges so transferred, two, Sir Charles Robert Mitchel Jackson, *Knight*, and Sir Mordaunt Lawson Wells, *Knight*, were from the late Supreme Court, and the remaining five, Henry Thomas Raikes, Esquire, Charles Binny Trevor, Esquire, George Loch, Esquire, Henry Vincent Bayley, Esquire, and Charles Steer, Esquire, were from the late Sadar Courts. The five new appointments† were John Paxton Norman, Esquire, Walter Morgan, Esquire, Francis Baring Kemp, Esquire, Walter Scott Seton-Karr, Esquire and Louis Stuart Jackson, Esquire. The Chief Justice, as also every Puisne Judge, previously to entering upon the discharge of the duties of his office, was required to take an oath ‡ in the prescribed form thereby solemnly declaring that he would faithfully perform the duties of his office to the best of his ability, knowledge and judgment. This oath was required to be made before such authority or person as the Governor-General in Council might commission to receive it. To give solemnity to the proceedings of the High Court it was provided § that a seal bearing the inscription, "The Seal of the High Court at Fort William in Bengal" should be used by the Court. This Seal should be in the custody of the Chief Justice, or, during his absence, in the custody of the person who might be appointed to act as such. All writs, summonses, precepts, rules, orders and other mandatory process to be used, issued or awarded by the said High Court should not only run* and be in the name of the reigning Sovereign for the time being, but also bear the impression of this Seal. Thus, the Court's Seal is a thing of very great importance, and any process, order or proceeding which does not bear the impression thereof has no value or effect in the eyes of the law.

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* *See* s. 2. of the first Letters Patent and s. 3 of the second.

† One addition was made to the number of Judges on the 30th of January 1863. *See* Preamble to the Letters Patent of 28th December 1865.

‡ *See* s. 3 of the first Letters Patent and s. 5 of the second.

§ *See* s. 4 of the first Letters Patent and s. 6 of the second.

As the business of a Court of Justice cannot be carried on without the aid and instrumentality of clerks and other ministerial officers, the Chief Justice of the High Court so established was empowered† to appoint so many and such clerks and other ministerial officers as should be found necessary for the administration of justice, and the due execution of all the powers and authorities granted and committed to the said High Court by the Letters Patent. Every such appointment should be forthwith submitted to the Governor-General in Council for approval, who might either confirm or disallow it. The clerks and officers so appointed were required to reside within the limits of the jurisdiction of the said Court so long as they should hold their respective offices; but this requisition should not interfere with or prejudice the right of any officer or clerk to avail himself of leave of absence under any rules prescribed by the Governor-General in Council, and to absent himself from the said limits during the term of such leave in accordance with the said rules.

As the Charter of 1862 was superseded by the Charter of 1865, and as in regard to the other provisions the two Charters differ in some particulars, we shall, in noticing them, give only the language and mode which have been adopted in the later Charter without making any mention whatever of the earlier one.

As clerks and other ministerial officers are necessary for the carrying on of the office work of the Court, so are practitioners necessary to aid and assist the Judges in the administration of justice. Accordingly, the Charter authorised and empowered the said Court of Judicature at Fort William to approve, admit and enrol such and so many advocates, vakils and attorneys-at-law as to the said Court should seem meet. Advocates could appear and plead for the suitors in the said Court subject to the rules and directions of such Court. The powers and privileges of vakils ‡ so far as they went, were somewhat greater than those of advocates. In addition to the powers given to the latter, vakils were authorised also to act for the suitors which advocates could not do, their function being confined to arguing cases in Court or preferring motions in Chambers. As for attorneys-at-law their position was inferior to that of vakils as well as to that of advocates; they could appear and act for parties, but they lacked the power of pleading in Court which is the most important of all.

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* *See* s. 5 of the first Letters Patent and s. 7 of the second.

† *See* s. 6 of the first Letters Patent and s. 8 of the second.

‡ In forensic practice, however, advocates have the right of pre-audience before vakils.

As a necessary consequence of the power given for appointing advocates, vakils and attorneys, the Court was also given the power of making rules for the qualifications and admission of persons to be advocates, vakils and attorneys of the said High Court, and to remove, or to suspend from practice, on reasonable cause, the said advocates, vakils or attorneys. Save and except such advocates or vakils none were allowed to act or plead for, or on behalf of, any suitor in the said High Court; nor were any but such vakils or attorneys allowed to act for any suitor in the same. But this rule did not prevent any suitor from appearing, pleading, or acting on his own behalf, or on behalf of a co-suitor.

The rules which have reference to the appointment, rights and duties of advocates, vakils and attorneys of the High Court have been collected and arranged by Mr. Robert Belchambers in his well-known work on the Rules and Orders of the High Court. He divides them into portions corresponding to the two Sides of the Court as they are called in Court parlance. These rules are of very great use and importance, and in a subject like the present a summary of them supplemented by authoritative rulings of the Court cannot fail to be interesting, and well deserve a place in this article, more especially as Mr. Belchambers's work, owing to its high price, is not accessible to the majority of practitioners and the general public.

Advocates of the High Court may appear and plead for suitors in any branch of the Court, civil or criminal.* Vakils may appear, act and plead for suitors in this Court provided that they shall not appear, plead, or act for any suitor in any matter of ordinary original jurisdiction, civil or criminal, or in any matter of appeal from any case of ordinary original civil jurisdiction, unless, upon appeal from a judgment in a case of such original civil jurisdiction, a question of Hindu or Mahomedan law or usage shall arise, and unless the Court or a Judge thereof shall think fit to admit a vakil or vakils to plead for any suitor or suitors in that case. In such case the vakil or vakils so admitted may plead accordingly.* But there is nothing to prevent a vakil from appearing, acting and pleading in any case before the High Court, in the exercise of its extraordinary jurisdiction, under the provisions of section 13 of the Letters Patent.† Attorneys, as such, cannot *practice* in the High Court, their right of pleading being confined to all other Courts and the Revenue offices. They can only appear and act in that Court. But if, by establishing to the satisfaction of the Court that he has *bonâ fide* practised as such for the period of three years, and that he is a person of good character and ability,‡ an attorney is admitted as a vakil, he shall in the character of a vakil enjoy all the privileges of a vakil without being deprived of his powers as an attorney-at-law.§ Thus, he shall have double character and may act in both capacities. And, as we have already stated, in Chambers Attorneys have the right of pre-audience before Counsel.‖ Any person who is entitled to practice as a barrister in England or Ireland, or as an advocate in the principal Courts of Scotland, who is of good character, and who intends to practise in the High Court, may be admitted as an advocate of that Court.¶ Every advocate, before being admitted and enrolled, shall take the oath of allegiance.** Thus character and loyalty are important factors in the formation of an advocate. A barrister-at-law, enrolled as an advocate of the High Court, is incapacitated from making a contract of hiring as an advocate, and cannot maintain a suit for the recovery of his fees.†† In fact, the fee he gets is honorarium,‡‡ and as such is not legally recoverable, as has been held in the well-known case of *Brown* v. *Kennedy*. But this incapacity does not extend to extra-professional services.§§ An advocate of the High

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* Rule 70

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* Rule 71.

† Rule 72.

‡ Provided that no attorney or other person shall be admitted as a vakil of the High Court without passing the final examination prescribed by Rule 16, chap. xvi, Appellate Side, which a practitioner has to pass before admission as a vakil of the High Court. *See* also Rule 23, chap xvi, Appellate Side.

§ *See* Rules 73, 74.

‖ *See* Rule of 1st May 1875.

¶ Rule 78.

** Rule 84.

†† See *Smith* v. *Guneshu Lal*, 3 N. W. Rep., 83.

‡‡ In connection with this matter it may not be amiss to refer to the provisions of section 39 of the Code of Civil Procedure which exempts an advocate of any High Court established by Royal Charter, or of the Chief Court of the Punjab, or of the Chief Court of Lower Burma, from presenting any document empowering him to act.

§§ See *The Land Mortgage Bank of India, Limited,* v. *Elves,* 25 uth., 332.

Court, though entitled to appear and plead on the Appellate Side, cannot file an appeal in the Registrar's office.[*] This restriction, however, does not hold good in the case of a petition of appeal in a criminal case which may be presented by any person.[†] Barristers have the right of pre-audience before vakils. But as between themselves, they take precedence according to the date of call to the bar.[‡] An attorney or solicitor of the Sovereign's Superior Courts of Law or Equity in England shall be entitled to be admitted as an attorney of the High Court without service or examination in India.[§] This privilege, however, is not accorded to an attorney or solicitor of the High Court of Judicature in Ireland, who is liable to pass an examination in India before being admitted as such.[||] But a *bonâ fide* attorney of the High Court of Madras, or of Bombay, may be admitted as an attorney of the High Court here without examination.[¶] An attorney, by virtue of his retainer, has general authority to compromise an action subject to his acting *bonâ fide* and reasonably, and not in defiance of the direct and positive instructions of his client.[**] And he may exercise such authority even when acting contrary to instructions where the other party is ignorant thereof.[††] This is defensible on the principle that a principal is bound by the acts of an agent done within the ordinary scope of his authority, even though he may have given secret instructions to the contrary. If, however, those instructions were known to the other contracting party, and in spite of his knowledge he entered into the engagement with the agent, that would not bind the principal, as it would be a clear case of fraud, and fraud, as we all know, avoids all proceedings, even the solemn proceedings of a Court of Justice.

Every person before being admitted to practice as a vakil of the High Court, shall have obtained the degree of Bachelor of Law in the University of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay or Allahabad[‡‡]; but this alone is not sufficient to establish his right to practise: he must also serve a regular clerkship[*] to some vakil of the High Court for full two years.[†] This is also the case with an attorney, whose period of service, however, appears to be five years.

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[*] See *Ram Taruck Barick* v. *Siddessari Dasi.* 13 Suth., C. R. p. 63.

[†] See *In* re *Subha Aitala,* I. L. R., 1 Mad., 304.

[‡] See *Kamtaprosad* v. *Ramlal Sookul,* 10 Sev., 34.

[§] See Rule 85.

[||] Rule 87.

[¶] Rule 86.

[**] See *Prestwick* v. *Poley*, 18 C. B. (N. S.), 806.

[††] *Juggernath Dass* v. *Ramdas*, L. R., 7 Bom., H. C. 79: see also *Butler* v. *Knight*, L. R., 2 Ex 109.

[‡‡] *See* Rule 143. In the case of a Bachelor of Law of the University of Allahabad, he shall be required to pass an examination, held under the direction of the High Court, in reading, writing and speaking the Bengali language. (Rule 18, chap. vi, Appellate Side.)

A vakil has authority under an ordinary vakalatnama to apply for leave to withdraw the suit.[‡] But compromise a suit he cannot without special authority to that effect.[§] Nor can he relinquish any portion of his client's claim without such authority.[||] Nor, again, can he validly give consent beyond his instructions.[¶] A vakil retained in a suit is bound to carry it to an end.[**] And his right of suit for fees does not accrue until he has completely discharged his duty in the conduct of the suit.[††] On a similar principle a vakil who appeared at the first hearing, cannot act for the opposite party when the suit is remitted by an Appellate Court for rehearing, or for finding on an issue.[‡‡] A vakil has, it is true, authority to certify grounds of appeal on behalf of a client, but when he has himself for his client he cannot certify his own grounds of appeal.[§§] Vakils of the High Court are not only entitled to appear and plead in the Mofussil Courts: they are also entitled to be heard in the Calcutta Small Cause Court.[||||]

What attorneys are to the barristers, mukhtyars are to the vakils. Both of them are officers of the Court, but there is considerable difference in their positions as such. Indeed, the attorneys wield much greater power and hold a much higher position than the mukhtyars. Where a mukhtyar is employed, fifteen per cent. of the sum now allowed as vakil's fee shall be allowed as such mukhtyar's fee and the remaining eighty-five per cent. only shall be allowed as the vakil's fee. But this rule shall not be considered as preventing a suitor from engaging a vakil without employing a mukhtyar.[¶¶] The case of an attorney is different, his services being indispensable in the matter of employment of counsel.

Five kinds of jurisdiction have been given to the High

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[*] *Bonâ fide* practice for four years as a pleader in one or more of the Courts in the mofussil, subject to the jurisdiction of the High Court, is a necessary qualification for one being admitted to practice in the High Court as a vakil *without service under articles.* (Rule 19, chap. vi, Appellate Side.)

[†] See Rule 144.

[‡] *Ram Coomar Roy* v. *The Collector of Beerbhoom*, 5 W. R., 80.

[§] *Prem. Sookh* v. *Purthee Ram*, 2 Agra Rep., 222; *Sudar Begum* v. *Izzut-oolnissa*, 2 All. Rep., 149.

[||] *Gour Pershad Doss* v. *Sookdeb Ram Deb*, 12 W. R., 229.

[¶] *Ramkant Chowdhury* v. *Brindabun Chunder Das*, 16 W. R. 246.

[**] *Takee Aly Khan* v. *Gool Mahomed Khan*, 1 N.-W. P. Rep., 23.

[††] *Buckahatnam Thatha Charlu* v. *Kajamiya*, 6 Mad. Rep., 265.

[‡‡] *In* re *Vakil*, 4 Mad. Rep., 43.

[§§] *Thakoor Doss Mookerjee* v. *Ameer Mundul*, 14 W. R., 168.

[||||] *In* re *Tulsidas Seal*, 7 W. R., 228.

[¶¶] *See* Belchambers's *Rules and Orders*, Appellate Side, p. 103.

Court by the Charter, namely, civil, criminal, admiralty and vice-admiralty, testamentary and intestate, and matrimonial. The civil jurisdiction of the High Court is divided in two ways, *viz.*, *first*, into ordinary original civil jurisdiction and extraordinary original civil jurisdiction; and, *secondly*, into ordinary appellate civil jurisdiction and extraordinary appellate civil jurisdiction. In the case of ordinary original civil jurisdiction as to *limits*, it is provided [*] that the said High Court at Fort William shall have and exercise such jurisdiction within such local limits as may, from time to time, be declared and prescribed by any law made by competent legislative authority for India, and until some local limits shall be so declared and prescribed, within the limits of Calcutta, as declared in the proclamation issued by the Governor-General in Council on the 10th day of September 1794, and that such jurisdiction of the said Court shall not extend beyond the limits for the time being declared and prescribed as the local limits thereof.

As regards its ordinary original civil jurisdiction as to *suits*, it is provided [†] that the said High Court, in the exercise of such jurisdiction, shall be empowered to receive, try, and determine suits of every description, if, in the case of suits for land or other immovable property, such land or property shall be situated, and in all other cases, if the cause of action shall have arisen, either wholly, or, in case the leave [‡] of the Court shall have been first obtained, in part, within the local limits of the ordinary original jurisdiction of the said High Court, or if the defendant at the time of the commencement of the suit shall dwell or carry on business, or personally work for gain within such limits: except that the said High Court shall not have such original jurisdiction in cases falling within the jurisdiction of the Small Cause Court at Calcutta, in which the debt or damage or value of the property sued, does not exceed one hundred rupees.[§] The provisions of this section are very important. The High Court has no jurisdiction in a suit for land situate outside its local limits, even though it be in the possession of its Receiver.[‖] But in other cases where the leave of the Court has been previously obtained, it may try and determine a suit in which the cause of action shall have arisen partly within the limits of its ordinary original civil jurisdiction. And it was held by the late Supreme Court that the obtaining of probate or letters of administration from the said Court is no ground of itself for subjecting the party obtaining them to the jurisdiction of the Court in a civil action connected with the estate in respect of which probate or letters of administration have been obtained.*

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[*] *See* s. 11 of the second Letters Patent.

[†] *See* s. 12 of the second Letters Patent.

[‡] The leave to sue under this section must be taken before obtaining the admission of the plaint. *Kellie* v *Fraser*, I. L. R.. 2 Cal., 445.

[§] *See* note under "Court of Requests" in my account of the Supreme C *See* also sections 19 and 633 of the Code of Civil Procedure.

[‖] *See Denonath Srimani* v. *Hogg*, 1 Hyde, 141

Section 14, of which the provisions did not find place in the Charter of 1862, provides that, where a plaintiff has several causes of action against a defendant, such causes of action not being for land or other immovable property, and the High Court at Fort William shall have original jurisdiction in respect of one of such causes of action, the said High Court may, either of its own accord or on the application of the plaintiff, call on the defendant to show cause why the several causes of action should not be joined together in one suit, and make such order for trial of the same as to the said High Court shall seem fit.

Ordinary Civil Courts have only ordinary powers; but the High Court, being the highest tribunal in the land, it is only just and proper that along with ordinary, it should also have some extraordinary powers. Accordingly, section 13 of the Charter provides that the said High Court at Fort William shall have power to remove, and try and determine, as a Court of extraordinary original jurisdiction, any suit being or falling within the jurisdiction of any Court, whether within or without the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William, subject to its superintendence, when the said High Court shall think proper to do so, either on the agreement of the parties to that effect, or for purposes of justice, the reasons for so doing being recorded on the proceedings of the said High Court. Ordinarily, agreement of parties cannot give jurisdiction to a Court which it does not otherwise possess. But this rule does not apply to the High Court in the exercise of its extraordinary powers. The High Court may, if it think proper, act upon such agreement and try and decide the suit, and where such agreement is wanting, the Court may, for the ends of justice, exercise its extraordinary powers. In *Doucett* v. *Wise*,† where intricate questions of English law were involved and the witnesses and parties were chiefly British snbjects, and, what is more, the plaintiff was an officer of the High Court, and resident in Calcutta, it was held that it was a fit case for transfer to the file of the High Court in its extraordinary original jurisdiction. In the case of a Court situate outside the limits of the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William, it is only where such Court is subject to the superintendence of the said High Court that transfer to its file is possible. Accordingly, it has been held that the High Court at Fort William has no jurisdiction to remove a case from the Court of the Civil and Sessions Judge at Allahabad, that Court not being subject to its superintendence.[*] Section 15 is very important: it provides for appeals from the Original Side of the High Court to its Appellate Side. It says that an appeal[†] shall lie to the said High Court of Judicature at Fort William from the judgment[‡] (not being a sentence or order passed or made in any criminal trial) of one Judge of the said High Court or of one Judge of any Division Court, pursuant to section 13 of the High Courts' Act, and that an appeal shall also lie to the said High Court from the judgment (not being a sentence or order as aforesaid) of two or more Judges of the said High Court, or of such Division Court, wherever such Judges are equally divided in opinion, and do not amount in number to a majority of the Judges of the said Court at the time being; but that the right of appeal from other judgments of Judges of the said High Court or of such Division Court shall be and lie to the Privy Council, as hereinafter provided. In the first place the section provides that the judgment of a single-seated Judge or one Judge of any Division Court, in an original suit, shall be appealable to the same Court in its Appellate Jurisdiction. In the second place it provides that in the case of the judgment of two or more Judges of the said High Court, or of such Division Court, wherever such Judges are equally divided in opinion, and do not amount in number to a majority of the full complement of Judges, where such judgment is in an original suit, it shall be appealable to the said Court; but where there is no difference of opinion between the Judges, or where the Judges form a majority, an appeal shall lie to the Privy Council. In either case only judgments and not orders are appealable. In *Baku Bibi* v. *Khaja Mahomed Musa Khan*,[§] an order passed by the senior of the Judges of a Division Bench, who differed in opinion, dismissing an application for the review of their judgment, was held not to be appealable, such an order not being judgment within the meaning of this section. Section 16 provides for appeals from the Provincial Courts. It enacts that the said High Court at Fort William shall be a Court of Appeal from the Civil Courts of the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William, and from all other Courts, subject to its superintendence, and shall exercise appellate jurisdiction in such cases as are subject to appeal to the said High Court by virtue of any laws or regulations now in force.

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* *See Leslie* v. *Inglis*, 1 Hyde, p. 67.

† 1 In. Jur. (N. S.), p. 227.

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[*] *G. E. Hotel Co.* v. *The Secretary of State for India*, 1 In. Jur. N. S.), p. 219.

[†] The right of appeal under this section is not taken away by section 575 of the Court of Civil Procedure, *Gossami Sri* v. *Purushtom Gossami*, I. L. R., 10 Cal., 814, F. B.

[‡] For meaning of the word 'Judgment' in this section, see *Justices of the Peace for Calcutta* v. *Oriental Gas Co.*, 8 B. L. R., 452; and *Ibrahim* v. *Fuckkrunnissa Begum*, I. L. R. 4 Cal., 534;, see also *DeSouza* v. *Coles*, 3 Mad., 384.

[§] 4 B. L. R., A. C., 10.

As civil jurisdiction includes also jurisdiction as to infants, lunatics and insolvents, the Charter very properly contains provisions in respect thereof. Section 17 enacts that the said High Court at Fort William shall have the like power and authority with respect to the persons and estates of infants, idiots and lunatics* within the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William, as that which was vested in the said High Court immediately before the publication of this Charter. The section, it is to be observed, makes no distinction on the score of nationality. Section 18 provides that the Court for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors at Calcutta shall be held before one of the Judges of the said High Court at Fort William, and the said High Court and any such Judge thereof shall have and exercise, within the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William, such powers and authorities with respect to original and appellate jurisdiction and otherwise as are constituted by the laws relating to insolvent debtors in India. Under the Charter† of 1862, the Insolvent Court had jurisdiction both within and without the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William. This section has narrowed its jurisdiction to that portion of the Presidency over which the authority of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal extends.‡

As to the law which is to be administered by the said High Court in the exercise of its ordinary original civil jurisdiction, section 19 provides that it shall be the law or equity which would have been applied in the late Supreme Court at Calcutta, modified by legislative enactments since the establishment of the High Court in 1862.§ And as regards law or equity and the rule of good conscience which is to be applied by the said Court in the exercise of its extraordinary original civil jurisdiction, the next following section provides that it shall be the law or equity and rule of good conscience which would have been applied by any local Court having jurisdiction in the case. Thus, for instance, if a case which was duly instituted in the Dacca Court, is transferred by the High Court to its own file in the exercise of its extraordinary power, the law to be applied to such case by the High Court must be the law which would have been applied by the Dacca Court. Similar provisions apply to cases tried and determined by the High Court in the exercise of its appellate jurisdiction; in other words, the law or equity and rule of good conscience, applicable to each case coming before such Court in appeal, shall be the law or equity and rule of good conscience which the Court in which the proceedings in such case were originally instituted ought to have applied to such case.*

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* The law as to lunatics is laid down in Act XXXIV of 1858. But there is no specific Act in regard to infants, save and except the Indian Majority Act (IX) of 1875.

† *See* section 17.

‡ *See In* re *Tietkins, an Insolvent*, 1 B. L. R. (O. J.), p. 84.

§ Such law, subject to such modifications, is as follows :—

1. The Common Law, as it prevailed in England in the year 1726, and which has not subsequently been altered by Statutes especially extending to India, or by the Acts of the Legislative Council of India.
2. The Statute Law which prevailed in England in 1726, and which has not subsequently been altered by Statutes especially extending to India, or by the Acts of the Legislative Council of India.

As to criminal jurisdiction it is provided† that the said

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3. The Statute Law expressly extending to India which has been enacted since 1726, and has not been since repealed, and the Statutes which have been extended to India by the Acts of the Legislative Council of India.
4. The Civil Law as it obtained in the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts in England.
5. Regulations made by the Governor-General in Council previously to the 3rd and 4th William IV., c. 85, and registered in the Supreme Court, and the Acts of the Legislative Council of India made under 3rd and 4th William IV, c 85 (to which must now be added the Acts of the Governor-General in Council and of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council under the 24th and 25th Vict., c. 77).
6. The Hindu Law in actions regarding inheritance and succession to lands, rents and goods, and all matters of contract and dealing between party and party in which a Hindu is a defendant.
7. The Mahomedan Law in similar actions between party and party in which a Mahomedan is a defendant. See Morley's *Digest*, vol. I, p. xxii of the Introduction. In connection with the matter under consideration, section 37 of the Civil Courts Act (XII of 1887) may be advantageously quoted here. It runs thus : "(1) where in any suit or other proceeding it is necessary for a Civil Court to decide any question regarding succession, inheritance, marriage, or caste, or any religious usage or institution, the Mahomedan law in cases where the parties are Mahomedans, and the Hindu law in cases where the parties are Hindus, shall form the rule of decision, except so far as such law has, by legislative enactment, been altered or abolished. (2) In cases not provided for by sub-section 1, or by any other law for the time being in force, the Court shall act according to justice, equity and good conscience."

* *See* section 21.

† *See* section 22.

High Court at Fort William shall have ordinary original criminal jurisdiction within the local limits of its ordinary original civil jurisdiction and also in respect of all such persons both within the limits of the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William and beyond such limits, and not within the limits of the criminal jurisdiction of any other High Court or Court established by competent legislative authority for India, as the said High Court at Fort William shall have criminal jurisdiction over at the date of the publication of this Charter.* This restriction over the powers of the High Court as given by the Charter of 1862 has become necessary in consequence of the establishment of a High Court with ordinary original criminal jurisdiction in the North-Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency. Section 23 gives power to the said High Court at Fort William to try all persons who may be brought before it in due course of law. All these provisions have reference to the ordinary original criminal jurisdiction of the Court. As regards its extraordinary original criminal jurisdiction, section 24 provides that the said High Court shall have such jurisdiction over all persons residing in places within the jurisdiction of *any* Court subject to the superintendence of the said High Court, and shall have authority to try, at its discretion, any such person brought before it on charges preferred by the Advocate-General, or by any Magistrate or other officer specially empowered by that Government in that behalf. Thus, the jurisdiction given to the High Court is of a very general character: It is not confined to Courts within the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William, but extends to Courts beyond its limits, provided such Courts are subject to its superintendence. No appeal is allowed to the said High Court at Fort William from any sentence or order passed or made in any criminal trial before the Court of original criminal jurisdiction which may be constituted by one or more Judges of such Court.† But any Court so constituted may, at its discretion, reserve any point or points of law for the opinion of the said High Court. On such point or points of law being so reserved, or on its being certified by the said Advocate-General that in his opinion there is an error in the decision of a point or points of law decided by the Court of original criminal jurisdiction, or that a point or points of law which has or have been decided by the said Court should be further considered, the said High Court shall have full power and authority to *review* the case, or such part of it, as may be necessary, and finally determine such point or points of law, and thereupon to alter the sentence passed by the Court of original jurisdiction, and to pass such judgment and sentence as to the said High Court shall seem right.* The power of the Advocate-General to certify, it is to be observed, is of a limited character: it is confined to questions of law, and does not extend to questions of facts affecting the merits of the case. But the power is exercisable even where a sentence of acquittal has been passed.

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* As to original and appellate criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects, being Christians resident in certain Native States, see Notification No 178-J., dated 23rd September 1874, in Belchambers's *Rules and Orders*, pp. 64, 65. For Notification enabling Justices of the Peace to commit for trial European British Christian subjects in Native States; and also for Notification providing that the Governor-General's Agent in Rajpootana and in Central India shall not exercise the powers of a High Court over European British subjects in Native States, see p. 67 of the same book.

† *See* section 25.

Section 27 provides that the High Court at Fort William shall be a Court of Appeal from the Criminal Courts of the Bengal Division of the Presidency at Fort William, and from all other Courts subject to its superintendence, and shall exercise appellate jurisdiction in such cases as are subject to appeal to the said High Court by virtue of any law now in force. The next following section provides that the said High Court is also a Court of Reference and Revision from the Criminal Courts subordinate to its appellate jurisdiction, and has power to hear and determine all such cases as may be referred to it by the Sessions Judges or by any other officers now authorised to refer cases to the said High Court, and to revise all such cases tried by any officer or Court possessing criminal jurisdiction, as are now subject to reference to, or revision by, the said High Court. As the law stood under the Charter of 1862, the High Court, as a Court of Revision, had no jurisdiction on its appellate side over Criminal Courts dealing with offences committed by European British subjects, but this section gives such power. And this is as it should be, for although the late Nizamat Adalat had no jurisdiction to deal with offences committed by European British subjects, still the present High Court uniting in itself the functions both of the Nizamat Adalat and the late Supreme Court is justly given the power to deal with such offences in its revisional jurisdiction. The High Court having also powers of superintendence over the inferior Courts, section 29 authorises and empowers it to direct the transfer of any criminal case or appeal from any Court to any other Court of equal or superior jurisdiction, and also to direct the preliminary investigation or trial of any criminal case by any officer or

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* *See* section 26.

Court otherwise competent to investigate or try it, though such case belongs in ordinary course to the jurisdiction of some other officer or Court. The section, however, does not say whether the High Court can transfer a case or appeal pending in any Court subordinate to it to its own file; but it seems to us clear that as it possesses the power to transfer generally, it may as well transfer to its own file as to the file of any subordinate Court. But surely it could not direct transfer to a Court of inferior jurisdiction from a Court of superior jurisdiction, for that would be giving jurisdiction to a Court in a matter which it does not in law possess, thereby assuming to itself functions of the Legislature which the High Court does not really possess.

As regards the criminal law which should be administered by the said High Court, section 30 provides that all persons brought up for trial before the said High Court, either in the exercise of its original jurisdiction, or in the exercise of its jurisdiction as a Court of Appeal, Reference, or Revision, charged with any offence for which provision is made in the "Indian Penal Code," or by any Act amending or excluding the same, which may have been passed prior to the publication of these Letters Patent, shall be liable to punishment under the said Code or Acts, and not otherwise.

As it may be necessary under peculiar circumstances to change the venue of the said High Court, and to hold its sittings in places other than its ordinary place of sitting, section 31 provides that the Governor-General in Council may, on the ground of convenience, authorise and empower the Judges of the said High Court to exercise their powers as such Judges in any place within the jurisdiction of any Court subject to the superintendence of the said High Court other than the usual place of sitting of the said High Court, or at several such places by way of circuit, and the proceeding in cases before the said High Court at such place or places will be regulated by any law relating thereto which has been, or may be, made by competent legislative authority for India.

In addition to civil and criminal jurisdiction, the said High Court has also given to it Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty jurisdiction. Under clause 31 of the Charter of 1862, the High Court was vested with "all such civil and maritime jurisdiction as may now be exercised by the Supreme Court as a Court of Admiralty or by any Judge of that Court as Commissary to the Vice-Admiralty Court,* and also such jurisdiction for the trial and adjudication of prize causes, and other maritime questions arising in India as is now vested in any Commissioner or Commissioners under 39 and 40 Geo. III,"[*] and was also given "such criminal jurisdiction as may be exercised by the Supreme Court as a Court of Admiralty, or by such Commissary or Commissioner or Commissioners."[†] Similar powers are given to the said High Court by clause 32 of the Letters Patent of 1865, so far as its civil maritime jurisdiction is concerned, and with regard to its criminal jurisdiction it is provided by the next following clause that the said High Court shall have and exercise all such criminal jurisdiction as may now be exercised by the said High Court as a Court of Admiralty or Vice-Admiralty, or otherwise in connection with maritime matters or matters of prize. The High Court, it has been held, has jurisdiction under the said clause 32 of the Charter of 1865, and 2 Wm. IV, c. 51 (of 1832), s. 6, to try maritime causes of any ships or vessels, whether foreign or British, wherever the cause of action may have arisen, provided the ships or vessels come within the Court's jurisdiction.[‡] It has also been held that

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* The authority of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Calcutta derived from the King's Commission, dated the 21st January, 1808, was continued first by a Commission, dated the 19th July, 1822, and then by Her Majesty's Commission, dated the 21st August, 1843, appointing "Sir Lawrence

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Peel, *Knight*, and the Chief Justice of Bengal for the time being, and the person executing the duties of such office to be our Commissary in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Calcutta and territories thereto belonging;" and authorising such Commissary "to take cognizance of and proceed in all causes, civil and maritime, and in complaints, contracts, offences, or suspected offences. . . . . and in any matter, cause, or thing, business or injury whatsoever, done or to be done, *as well in, upon, or by the sea*, ... and also to search and inquire for and concerning all goods of traitors, pirates, manslayers, fellons, fugitives . . . . . and concerning *mahem* . . . . fishes royal . . . . casualties at sea . . . and maritime crimes, whatsoever done and committed, *as well in and upon the high sea*, as all ports, etc.," See Belchambers's *Rules and Orders*, pp. 54, 55. For the Vice-Admiralty Commission *in extenso*, see pp. 450-53, App. Since the Vice-Admiralty jurisdiction which was formerly vested in the Chief Justice alone, became vested in the High Court, it has not been necessary to exercise the power given by Her Majesty's Commission, "of deputing or surrogating one or more deputy or deputies." The Vice-Admiralty jurisdiction now vested in the High Court, may be exercised by any Judge appointed to sit for that purpose as a Division Court, and is, practically, without any special appointment, exercised by the Judge exercising original civil jurisdiction. *Ibid*, p. 56.

See Letters Patent of 1865, s. 44, which makes all the provisions of the Letters Patent (including those relating to Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty jurisdiction) subject to the legislative powers of the Governor-General in Council, under 24 and 25 Vict., c. 67.

[*] C. 79, s. 24, (28th July, 1800). No commissioner was appointed in Bengal under this Statute.

[†] The corresponding sections of the Letters Patent of 1865, namely, sections 32 and 33, are substantially the same as sections 31 and 32 of the first Letters Patent, though not equally explicit.

[‡] See *The Garland* v. *The Dragon*, 1 Hyde, p. 275.

the Vice-Admiralty Court cannot arrest a British ship on a claim for repairs.*

As regards the testamentary and intestate jurisdiction of the said High Court, it is provided by clause 34 † that the said High Court shall have the like power and authority as was exercised by the late Supreme Court in relation to the granting of probates of last wills and testaments, and letters of administration to the goods, chattels, credits and all other effects whatsoever of persons dying intestate, whether within or without the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William. Whatever doubt there might have been as to this clause giving the High Court jurisdiction to entertain appeals in *testamentary* causes, these doubts have been removed by clause 15 which clearly gives such appeal.

As to matrimonial jurisdiction, clause 35 provides that the said High Court at Fort William shall have jurisdiction within the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William in matters matrimonial between British subjects professing the Christian religion; but this provision will not operate as a bar to the exercise of any jurisdiction in such matters by any Court not established by Royal Charter within the said Presidency lawfully possessed thereof.‡ Thus, it appears that greater power is given to the High Court than was exercisable and exercised by the late Supreme Court, the jurisdiction whereof was confined within specified limits. For the more speedy despatch of business it is provided by clause 36 that any function which is required to be performed by the said High Court at Fort William, in the exercise of its original or appellate jurisdiction, may be performed by any Judge, or by any Division Court thereof, appointed or constituted for such purpose, under the High Courts Act, section 13; and if such Division Court is composed of two or more Judges, and the Judges are divided in opinion as to the decision to be given on any point such point shall be decided according to the opinion of the majority of the Judges, if there shall be a majority, but if the Judges should be equally divided, then the opinion of the senior Judge shall prevail. The rule thus laid down applies both to civil and criminal appeals. In case of difference of opinion betweeen two Judges, the decision of the senior Judge prevails, subject, however, to the provision of clause 15.§ By section 37 power is given to the High

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* See *Howrah Docking Co.* v. *The Jean Louis*, 2 Hyde, p. 255.

† Clause 33 of the Letters Patent of 1862 repeals Charter 14, Geo. III, so far as it gives the Supreme Court ecclesiastical jurisdiction, except as mentioned in clause 34.

‡ *See* the Indian Divorce Act (IV) of 1869.

§ Section 575 of the Civil Procedure Code has the effect of superseding the provision in this clause, namely, that in the event of any disagreement

Court at Fort William, from time to time, to make rules and orders for the purpose of regulating all proceedings in civil cases which may be brought before the said High Court, including proceedings in its Admiralty, Vice-Admiralty, Testamentary, Intestate and Matrimonial jurisdictions respectively, such rules and orders being to be made, as far as possible, agreeably to the provisions of the Code of Civil Procedure, and the provisions of any law which has been enacted amending or altering the same, by competent legislative authority for India.*

Similarly, proceedings in all criminal cases which shall be brought before the said High Court at Fort William, in the exercise of its ordinary original criminal jurisdiction, and also in all other criminal cases over which the late Supreme Court had jurisdiction, shall be regulated † by the procedure and practice which was in use in the said Supreme Court, subject to any law which has been or may be made in relation thereto by competent legislative authority for India, and that the proceedings in all other criminal cases shall be regulated by the Code of Criminal Procedure,‡ passed by the Governor-General in Council, or by such further or other law in relation to criminal procedure as may have been or may be made by such authority as aforesaid.

With regard to appeals § to the Privy Council, ‖ section 39 provides that such an appeal may be made, in any matter not being of criminal jurisdiction, from any *final* judgment, decree, or order made in the exercise of original jurisdiction by a majority of the full complement of Judges of the said High Court, or of any Division Court, from which an appeal shall not lie to the said Court, under the provisions contained in the 15th clause of this Charter. This is the general rule as to such appeals. On the question of pecuniary limit it is provided

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between the Judges of a Division Court, the judgment of the senior Judge shall prevail (see A. *Bhivraj* v. *S. Khupchand*, 3 Bom. 204, F. B); but it does not take away the right of appeal which is given by clause 15 of the Letters Patent (*Gossami Maharaj Tickail* v. *Purushotum Gossami*, 10 Cal. 814, F. B.

* *See* Justice Norman's observations on this clause in 3 Ben. L. R., O. J. p. 87. See also s. 652, C. P. C. as amended by Act xiii of 1895.

† *See* clause 38.

‡ Act V of 1898.

§ On this subject, see also sections 594 to 598 and 600 and 601 of the Code of Civil Procedure.

‖ The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, established by 2 and 3 Wm. IV, c. 92, superseding the previous Court of Delegates, exercises the jurisdiction in appeal belonging to the King in Council. The appellate jurisdiction of the Lords rests on their claim to be the representatives of the ancient Great Council of the realm. See the article, "Court," in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

contemplated by the section are orders made in regular course as distinguished from subsidiary orders or the like. An order of a Division Bench, rejecting an application for a review of judgment passed on appeal, is not an order made on appeal from which an appeal lies to the Privy Council.* But an appeal does lie to the Privy Council from the order of the High Court in execution proceedings, when the amount involved is above the appealable value.† Even interlocutory judgments may form subjects of appeal to the Privy Council. This provision is made by secton 10 of the Charter. It enacts that it shall be lawful for the said High Court at Fort William, at its discretion, on the motion, or if the said High Court be not sitting, then for any Judge of the said High Court, upon the petition, of any party who considers himself aggrieved by any preliminary or interlocutory judgment, decree, order, or sentence of the said High Court in any such proceeding as aforesaid, not being of criminal jurisdiction, to grant permission to such party to appeal against the same to the Privy Council, subject to the same rules, regulations, and limitations as are in this charter expressed respecting appeals from final judgments, decrees, orders and sentences, As regards appeals in criminal cases, section 41 provides that from any judgment, order, or sentence of the said High Court, made in the exercise of its original criminal jurisdiction, or in any criminal case where any point or points of law has or have been reserved for the opinion of the said High Court, in manner hereinbefore provided by any Court which has exercised original jurisdiction, it shall be lawful for the person aggrieved by such judgment, order, or sentence to appeal to the Sovereign in Council, provided the said High Court shall declare that the case is a fit one for such appeal, and under such conditions as the said High Court may establish or require, subject always to such rules and orders as may hereafter be made in that behalf by the Sovereign with the advice of his or her Council.

Clause 42 provides for the transmission of copies of evidence and other evidence to the Privy Council. It also provides that the High Court shall, in all cases of appeal to the Privy Council, conform to and execute, or cause to be executed, such judgments and orders as the Privy Council shall think fit to make in the premises, in such manner as any original judgment, decree, or decretal order or other order or rule of the that in each of the cases noticed above, the sum or matter at issue must be of the amount or value of not less than Rs. 10,000, or that such final judgment, decree, or order, so intended to be appealed against, must involve, directly or indirectly, some claim, demand, or question to or respecting property amounting to or of the value of not less than Rs. 10,000.* An appeal shall also lie from any other final judgment, decree, or order, made either on appeal, or otherwise as aforesaid, when the said High Court shall declare that the case is a fit one for appeal to the Privy Council, subject *always* to such rules and orders as are now in force, or may from time to time be made, respecting appeals to the Sovereign in Council, from the Courts of the said Presidency at Fort William; except so far as the said existing rules and orders, respectively, are by this Charter varied, and subject also to such further rules and orders as may be hereafter made in that behalf by the Sovereign with the advice of the Privy Council.† Thus the pecuniary limit is fixed once for all at Rs. 10,000 at the lowest calculation. Where the amount or value of the property in dispute is that sum or more, the case is clear enough; and the same thing will happen where the decision appealed against involves, directly or indirectly, some claim, demand or question to or respecting property worth such sum. So it has been held that leave to appeal to the Privy Council will in some cases be allowed respecting property, which, on the whole, is above the said pecuniary limit, notwithstanding that the portion of the property which is the subject of appeal is below that limit.‡ The Court may take into consideration, in allowing or rejecting a petition of appeal to the Privy Council, the fact that the property has increased in value since the commencement of the suit.§ And even where the value is less than Rs. 10,000, an appeal may still lie to the Privy Council, if from the peculiar difficulty of the case, in a legal point of view, or from its great importance, the High Court certify that it is a fit case for appeal to the Privy Council. Orders said High Court should or might have been executed. Where a decree is simply affirmed by the Privy Council, it is the decree of the Appellate Court which is to be executed.* When a decision of the Judicial Committee has been reported to the Sovereign and has been sanctioned, it becomes the decree or order of the final Court of Appeal, and it is the duty of every subordinate tribunal, to which the decree or order is addressed, to carry it into execution.†

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* See *Soudamini Dasi* v. *Maharaj Dhiraj Mahtab Chand Bahadur*, 6 W. R., F. B., p. 103; and *Rajah Enaet Hossein* v. *Ranee Rowshan Jahan*, 1 B. L. R, F. B., p. 1.

† See *Musst. Velarly Begum* v. *Rughoonauth Pershad*, 8 W. R., F. B., p. 147.

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* By the true construction of section 595 of the Civil Procedure Code there are two conditions of appeal, that the amount or value both of the subject matter of the suit in the first Court, and also of the matter in dispute on appeal must be Rs. 10,000 or upwards The case must comply with both conditions to qualify the admission of an appeal. See *Moti Chand* v. *Gunga Parshad Singh*, 29 In. App., p. 40.

† Applications in appeals to the Privy Council in suits instituted on the Original Side of the High Court are made before a single Judge exercising origin[illegible]sdiction under clause 36 of the Letters Patent.

[illegible] *nooroop Chunder Mookerjee* v. *Purtab Chunder Pal*, 2 Wym. Re[illegible] 37: see also *Musst. Ameena Khatoon* v. *Radhabinode Misser*, 7 I. A., 261.

§ See *Lopez* v. *Madan Mohan Thakoor*, 2 Wym. Rep., p. 96.

Clause 43 requires the High Court to comply with requisitions from Government for records, returns and statements.

By clause 44 legislative powers of the Governor-General in Council are preserved to them in their full integrity. In exercise of such powers the Governor-General in Council is competent to make new laws and regulations, or to amend and alter existing ones.

The High Court is a composite body, having two branches, which are respectively termed the Original Side and the Appellate Side. Roughly speaking, the Original Side represents the late Supreme Court, and the Appellate Side the late Sadar Courts. Thus, though the Sadar and Supreme Courts have become things of the past, still their memory is well preserved by the High Court which has taken their place. The procedure and practice followed in the two Sides of the High Court are different from one another. In the Original Side the English law and the practice of the Courts in England predominate, whereas in the Appellate Side, the Acts and Regulations of the Governor-General in Council and the native laws and usages, where they are applicable, are the guiding authorities. This being the case, it is only just and proper that in the Original Side only Barrister Judges who have had legal training in the Inns of Court in England should preside. In the Appellate Side no such distinction is made, and Judges, whether chosen from amongst the barristers or recruited from the Covenanted or Uncovenanted Civil Service, or from the native bar, are privileged to sit in it. The Rules and Orders governing the High Court in its Original Side being different from those having force and effect on the Appellate Side, it is only fair and reasonable that they should be dealt with separately.

The general rule governing both Sides of the Court is that all powers and functions which are vested in it by the Letters Patent constituting the Court, and which are not otherwise expressly provided for by the rules of the Court, may be exercised by a single Judge, or by a Division Bench, consisting of two or more Judges.* This being so, it necessarily follows that a Court for the exercise of the ordinary original jurisdiction of the Court may be held before one Judge, or before two or more Judges, and two of such Courts may sit at the same time.† In case of doubt or difficulty a Judge sitting alone may refer any matter for the decision of two Judges.‡ If in a Court of original jurisdicton held before two Judges there be a difference of opinion, the Chief Justice, or in his absence the Senior Judge present, shall have a double or casting vote.§ Appeals from the decisions of one Judge in the exercise of ordinary original civil jurisdicton shall be heard and determined by at least two other Judges, and in case the two Judges who exercise the appellate jurisdiction differ in opinion, they may direct that the case shall be re-heard before a Division Court consisting of themselves and some other Judge or Judges, and if no such order be made, the decision shall be affirmed.|| In order to avoid such complicated process, the Appellate Bench is, as a rule, formed of three Judges. Appeal from decree shall be presented within twenty days, and appeal from order within four days from the date of the decree or order appealed against, and the period of limitation so prescribed shall be calculated exclusive of the date of the decree or order and the time taken up for taking copy thereof. Appeals from the decisions of two Judges in the exercise of ordinary original jurisdiction shall be heard by a Division Court consisting of three Judges. ¶

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* See *Joynarain Giri* v. *Goluck Chunder Mytee*, 22 Suth. C. R., p. 102.

† See *Pitts* v. *La Fontaine*, L. R. 6 App. Cas., p. 482.

A Court for the exercise of the ordinary original criminal jurisdiction of the High Court may be held before one Judge, and one or more Courts may sit at one time, in each of which there shall be one Judge.** A Division Court for the hearing of criminal appeals may consist of two or more Judges.†† Appeals on the criminal side of the appellate branch of the Court, which are in the first instance heard before one Judge, may, if he think fit, be referred to such Division Court.‡‡ All proceedings in civil cases which shall be brought before the Court, except proceedings in its Admiralty, Vice-Admiralty, and Matrimonial jurisdiction, and in its original Testamentary and Intestate jurisdiction, shall be regulated by the Code of

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* *See* clause 36 of the Letters Patent.

† *See* Rule 53.

‡ *See* Rule 54.

§ *See* Rule 55 : See, however, section 575 of the Code of Civil Procedure and *A. Bhivraj* v. *S. Khup Chand*, 3 Bom., 204, F. B.

|| *See* Rule 56, since repealed by a rule, dated the 5th December 1890.

¶ *See* Rule 57.

** *See* Rule 58.

†† *See* Rule 59.

‡‡ *See* Rule 60.

Civil Procedure, and by such other Acts and by such rules and orders of the High Court as were in force and regulated the procedure of the said Court at the time of the publication of the Letters Patent, except so far as the same are at variance with the provisions of the said Letters Patent.*

The procedure in civil cases, which shall be brought before the Court in the exercise of its Admiralty, Vice-Admiralty, or Matrimonial jurisdiction, shall be regulated, so far as the circumstances of the case will admit, by the Code of Civil Procedure.† In cases in the exercise of Admiralty or Vice-Admiralty jurisdiction in which a ship, or a ship and cargo, have been or are to be proceeded against or arrested, or in which goods only have been or are to be proceeded against or arrested, either for the purpose of proceeding against the goods or the freight due thereon, or in which property shall have been or shall be arrested, and no party shall have appeared or shall appear at the return of the warrant, and in all cases in the exercise of Admiralty or Vice-Admiralty jurisdiction in which the rules contained in the Code of Civil Procedure are not applicable, the practice and procedure shall be regulated as nearly as possible by the rules and regulations made and ordained by order of his late Majesty King William IV in Council in pursuance of 2nd William IV, c. 51, and touching the practice to be observed in the several Courts of Vice-Admiralty in the Colonies, except so far as such rules may be inconsistent with the 24 and 25 Vict., c. 104, or of the said Letters Patent.‡

In suits for mariners' wages brought before the Court in the exercise of Admiralty or Vice-Admiralty jurisdiction, any number of mariners may proceed jointly in one action.§ The procedure in all cases which shall be brought before the Court in the exercise of its original, testamentary and intestate jurisdiction, shall be regulated, as far as the circumstances of the case will admit, by the rules of procedure laid down in the Indian Succession Act of 1865, whether the Act itself applies to the case or not, and in cases to which such rules are inapplicable, the procedure shall be regulated by the Code of Civil Procedure.‖ Persons of nautical skill and experience, residing or having places of business within the jurisdiction of the High Court, are to act as assessors in any Admiralty or Vice-Admiralty cause of salvage, towage, or collision, under the provisions of section 645A of the Code of Civil Procedure. A list of such persons is to be framed by the Registrar in the Original Side and approved by the Chief Justice, and when

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[*] *See* Rule 61.

[†] *See* Rule 62.

[‡] *See* Rule 63.

[§] *See* Rule 64.

[‖] *See* Rule 65.

so approved, is to be published in the *Calcutta Gazette*.[*] Every person who shall act as assessor shall be entitled to a fee of four gold-mohurs for each day's attendance.[†] Unless otherwise ordered, all fees paid to assessors under these rules shall be deemed to be costs in the cause.[‡]

We now proceed to deal with the rules regulating the procedure and practice of the High Court on its Appellate Side. A Division Bench for the hearing of appeals from decrees or orders of the Provincial Courts shall consist of two Judges. To this general rule there are two exceptions: *First*,—appeals from Appellate Decrees in suits of which the value does not exceed fifty rupees may be heard by a single Judge; and, *secondly*, a Special Bench, to consist of three Judges, may, on the requisition of any Division Bench, be appointed by the Chief Justice for the hearing of any particular appeal or other matter.[§] From the judgment of a single Judge, as aforesaid, there shall be an appeal under section 15 of the Letters Patent, which appeal shall be heard by a Division Bench consisting of two Judges other than the Judge from whose judgment the appeal is preferred.[‖] In all other cases a Division Bench for the hearing of appeals under section 15 of the Letters Patent from a judgment of a Division Bench sitting on the Appellate Side of the High Court shall consist of three Judges other than the Judges of the Division Bench from whose judgment the appeal is preferred.[¶] Every appeal to the High Court under section 15 of the Letters Patent from a judgment of a Division Court on the Appellate Side of the High Court shall be presented to the Deputy Registrar within thirty days from the date of the judgment appealed from, unless the Court in its discretion, on good cause shown, shall grant further time.[**] The petition of appeal shall be in the English language, shall be drawn up in accordance with the provisions of section 541 of the Code of Civil Procedure, and shall be subscribed by an advocate or vakil of the Court.[††] In every such appeal in which the value of the appeal exceeds Rs. 50, copies of the memorandum of appeal and of the judgment of the Judges shall be printed. But where the value of the appeal does not exceed Rs. 50, whether decided by a Division Bench, or by a single Judge, the copies shall be prepared in manuscript.[‡‡] A Division Bench for the hearing of appeals under section 15 of the Letters Patent from the judgment of a Judge, sitting on the Original Side of the High Court, shall consist of three Judges. An appeal from original decree, where such appeal lies direct to the High Court, may be on questions of fact as well as of law. Where the value of a suit is above five thousand rupees, even if such suit be decided by a Subordinate Judge, an appeal from it shall lie to the High Court.* Such appeal shall be made in the form of a memorandum in writing and shall be accompanied by a copy of the decree appealed against, and unless the Appellate Court dispenses therewith, of the judgment on which it is founded. Such memorandum shall set forth concisely and under distinct heads the grounds of objection to the decree appealed against, without argument or narrative, such grounds shall be numbered consecutively.† It is not necessary, for the purposes of appeal, that the decree should have been passed in a *contested* suit, as an appeal may, indeed, lie from an original decree passed *ex parte*.‡ The petition of appeal shall be presented by the appellant in person, or by his recognised agent, or by a pleader appointed under section 39 of the Code of Civil Procedure, or by some person appointed in writing in each case by such pleader to present the same.§

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[*] *See* Rule 729.

[†] *See* Rule 731.

[‡] *See* Rule 736.

[§] *See* chap. ii, Rule I, *Appellate Side Rules*.

[‖] *See* Rule II.

[¶] *See* Rule II.

[**] *See* Chap. vi, Rule I.

[††] *See* Rule III.

[‡‡] *See* Rule VI.

The rules applying to appeals from original decrees shall apply generally to appeals from orders.‖ Such appeals shall have precedence over other appeals in the preparation for hearing, and shall, when ready, be placed on a special board of appeals for hearing.¶

An appeal from appellate decree, or, as it is commonly called, special or rather second appeal, differs from an appeal from original decree mainly in this, that it does not lie on pure question of fact. The Code of Civil Procedure in Chapter XIV deals with such appeals. The main provisions are contained in section 584 which runs thus.:—"Unless when otherwise provided by this Code or by any other law, from all decrees passed in appeal by any Court subordinate to a High Court, an appeal shall lie to the High Court on any of the following grounds (namely):—

(*a*) the decision being contrary to some special law or usage having the force of law;

(*b*) the decision having failed to determine some material issue of law or usage having the force of law;

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* *See* s. 20 of the Civil Courts Act (XII of 1887).

† *See* section 541 of the Code of Civil Procedure.

‡ *See* section 45 of the Civil Procedure Code Amendment Act (VII of 1888).

§ *See* Chap. VIII, Rule I. Belchambers's *Rules and Orders.*

‖ *See* Chap. X, Rule I.

See Rule IV.

(*c*) a substantial error or defect in the procedure as prescribed by this Code or any other law, which may possibly have produced error or defect in the decision of the case upon the merits.

An appeal may lie under this section from an appellate decree passed *ex-parte*."

The above are the only grounds on which a second appeal is tenable, and on no other ground, as has been emphasized by the next following section. In the case of suits of the nature cognisable in Courts of Small Causes, it is provided that no second appeal shall lie in any such suit, when the amount or value of the subject matter of the original suit does not exceed five hundred rupees.*

The memorandum of appeal against an appellate decree shall be accompanied by a copy of the judgment and decree as well of the Court in which the suit was originally tried as of the Court whose decree is appealed against.† Every petition of appeal must be certified by the vakil presenting it in due form.‡

A very large number of second appeals are annually preferred to the High Court, but unfortunately for the litigating public, only a few of them are decreed. Some are rejected at the preliminary hearing under section 551 of the Code, and as for the rest which stand such severe trial, nearly ninety per cent. are eventually dismissed on the stereotyped ground, that they do not involve any question of law or usage having the force of law. In fact, second appeals do not, as a rule, receive due consideration at the hands of the Court, and are in most cases perfunctorily disposed of much to the regret of the suitors whose wrongs are thus left unremedied for all time to come. People used to look upon the High Court as the palladium of justice, and resorted to it in the firm belief that their grievances would be redressed; but for the last fifteen or sixteen years their confidence is much shaken and they now seek the aid of that Court something like a drowning man catching at a straw. Time was when the Judges feeling very strongly the serious responsibility of their high and exalted position tried their utmost best to do justice, and even where an inexperienced counsel or vakil was found not quite able to deal properly with the case of his client would be throwing out suggestive hints and putting him in the right way. But unluckily for this country the number of such good

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* *See* section 586 of the Code of Civil Procedure.

† See Chap. IX, Rule II., Belchambers's. *Rules and Orders.*

‡ *See* Rule IV. Mark no *advocate* can certify grounds of second appea
nor can the party himself in his professional capacity do so, if he hap
to be a vakil.

Judges is becoming smaller and smaller as time rolls on. Now-a-days, one who can dispose of the largest number of cases, be the character of the decision what it may, is considered as the best Judge. But in the matter of administration of justice as in many other things, the quality of the work done should have much greater weight than its quantity. This wholesome salutary principle, however, is almost ignored, and the result is that to do even-handed justice has, in the majority of cases, become an utter impossibility.

The High Court being the first and foremost Tribunal in the land, it is only just and proper that it should have very large powers over the Courts subordinate to it, and as a matter of fact it does possess such powers. These powers are of a general character and serve well to keep the inferior Courts under check and within bounds. The power to control, however, is not inconsistent with the power to help, and, accordingly, the High Court may, in cases of doubt and difficulty, come to the rescue of the lower Courts, provided the latter seek its aid in due form. Section 617 of the Code of Civil Procedure provides that if, before or on the hearing of a suit or appeal in which the decree is final, or if, in the execution of any such decree, any question of law or usage having the force of law, or the construction of a document, which construction may affect the merits, arises, on which the Court trying the suit or appeal, or executing the decree, entertains reasonable doubt, the Court may, either of its own motion, or on the application of any of the parties, draw up a statement of the facts of the case and the point on which doubt is entertained, and refer such statement, with its own opinion, the point for the decision of the High Court. Section 621 says that on such reference being made, the High Court may return the case for amendment; and may alter, cancel, or set aside any decree or order which the Court making the reference has passed in the case out of which the reference arose, and make such order as it thinks fit. References from Provincial Civil Courts (including, we suppose, Provincial Small Cause Courts) shall be heard by the Division Bench appointed for the hearing of appeals and orders of the Civil Courts of the district in which such Court is situated.* References from the Presidency Small Cause Courts shall be heard by the Division Bench appointed for the hearing of appeals from the High Court in its original jurisdiction.†

Where no such reference, as is noticed above, is made, the

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* *See* Chap. II, Rule III.

† *See* Rule IV.

High Court may, in the exercise of its general revisional powers, try to do justice where some injustice has been done by any of the lower Courts. These powers are given by section 622 of the Code. By virtue of the provisions of this section the High Court may call for the records of any case in which no appeal lies thereto, if the Court by which the case was decided appears to have exercised a jurisdiction not vested in it by law, or to have failed to exercise a jurisdiction so vested, or to have acted in the exercise of its jurisdiction illegally or with material irregularity, and may pass such order in the case as the High Court thinks fit. The High Court may also withdraw any suit, whether pending in a Court of first instance or in a Court of appeal subordinate to it, and try the suit itself or transfer it for trial to any other such subordinate Court competent to try the same in respect of its nature and the amount or value of its subject matter.*

But not only has the High Court power to control and regulate the proceedings of the Civil Courts subordinate to it, it has also power, in certain cases to deal with the officers themselves who preside in those Courts. It may remove or suspend a Munsif for misconduct;† and in the case of a Subordinate Judge, though it is not competent to dismiss him from service, it may suspend him whenever it sees urgent necessity for so doing.‡ Thus, in truth and in reality, the powers of the High Court over the inferior Courts are very large.

As on the civil, so on the criminal side, the High Court has large powers given to it. These powers it owes mainly to the Letters Patent granted under the Indian High Courts Act, and only partially to the Code of Criminal Procedure. In the exercise of such powers the High Court may take cognizance of any offence upon a commitment made to it in due form.§ This is the general rule. Section 447 deals with the case of a European British subject. It provides that when such person is accused of an offence before a Magistrate, and such offence cannot, in the opinion of such Magistrate, be adequately punished by him and is punishable with death or with transportation for life, such Magistrate shall, if he thinks that the accused ought to be committed, commit him to the High Court; but when the offence is not so punishable, he may commit the acccused to the Court of Sessions, or, in the case of a Presidency Magistrate to the High Court. All trials before the High Court, shall be by jury.* This circumstance distinguishes such trials from trials before a Court of Sessions, which may be either by jury, or with the aid of assessors.† When any person is sentenced to death by the High Court, the sentence shall direct that he be hanged by the neck till he is dead.‡ But when such extreme sentence is passed by a Court of Sessions, it cannot be executed unless it is confirmed by the High Court.§ In such cases the High Court may direct further inquiry to be made,‖ if it sees good ground for so doing.

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* *See* section 25 of the Code of Civil Procedure.

† *See* section 28 of the Civil Courts Act (XII of 1887).

‡ *See* section 27 of Act XII of 1887.

§ *See* Act V of 1898, s. 194.

The High Court has not only power to try cases duly committed to it, but may also try cases in appeal. Accordingly, it is provided that any person convicted on a trial held by a Sessions Judge, or an Additional or Joint Sessions Judge, may appeal to the High Court.¶ So also may a person convicted by a Presidency Magistrate, if the Magistrate has sentenced him to imprisonment for a term exceeding six months or to a fine exceeding two hundred rupees.** An appeal may lie on a matter of fact as well asa matter of law, except where the trial was by jury, in which case the appeal shall lie on a matter of law only.†† There may also lie an appeal to the High Court from an original or appellate order of acquittal passed by any Court other than a High Court. Such appeal, however, is allowable only on behalf of Government.‡‡ A Presidency Magistrate may, if he thinks fit, refer for the opinion of the High Court any question of law which arises in the hearing of any case pending before him, or may give judgment in any such case subject to the decision of the High Court on such reference; and, pending such decision, may either commit the accused to jail, or release him on bail to appear for judgment when called upon.§§

The High Court has also power to call for and examine the record of any proceeding before any inferior Criminal Court situate within the local limits of its jurisdiction, for the purpose of satisfying itself as to the correctness, legality or propriety of any finding, sentence or order recorded or passed, and as to the regularity of any proceedings of such inferior Court.‖‖ In the exercise of such powers of superintendence, the Court may *enhance* the sentence.¶¶ This provision is new and it strikes one as somewhat severe. But whatever its character may be, it is only fair and reasonable that it should

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[*] *See* section 267 of Act V of 1898.

[†] *See* section 268 of Act V of 1898.

[‡] *See* section 368 of Act V of 1898.

[§] *See* section 374 of Act V of 1898.

[‖] *See* section 438 of Act V of 1898.

[¶] *See* section 410 of Act V of 1898.

[**] *See* section 411 of Act V of 1898.

[††] *See* section 418 of Act V of 1898.

[‡‡] *See* section 417 of Act V of 1898.

[§§] *See* section 432 of Act V of 1898.

[‖‖] *See* section 435 of Act V of 1898.

[¶¶] *See* section 439 of Act V of 1898.

be carried out only in very exceptional cases. As on the civil side, so on the criminal, the High Court has power to withdraw a case from a subordinate Court and itself try or transfer it to any other such Court of competent jurisdiction.* A Division Bench for the hearing of cases in appeal, reference, or revision, in respect of the sentence or order of any Criminal Court, shall consist of two Judges.† A Division Bench for the decision of any question reserved or referred under section 434 of the Code of Criminal Procedure shall consist of such number of Judges as the High Court shall, in each case, determine.‡

Whenever one Division Court shall differ from another Division Court upon a point of law or usage having the force of law, the case shall be referred for decision by a Full Bench.§ Thus, the reference to a Full Bench is confined to matters of law or usage having the force of law: it does not extend to matters of fact, or procedure, or the construction of a document; nor can such reference be made by a Judge sitting alone, only a Division Court consisting of two or more Judges being competent to do so. If the question arise in an appeal from an appellate decree, or in any matter coming before a Division Court in the exercise of its civil revisional jurisdiction, the Court referring the case shall state the point upon which they differ from the decision of another Division Court, and shall refer the appeal or matter, as the case may be, for the *final* decision of a Full Bench.‖ But if the question arise in an appeal from an original decree, the question of law shall alone be referred, and the Full Bench shall return the case with an expression of its opinion upon the point of law for final adjudication by the Division Court which referred it, and in case of necessity, in consequence of the absence of any or either of the referring Judges, for the ultimate decision of another Division Court.¶

If the question arise in any case coming before a Division Bench as a Court of Criminal Appeal, Reference, or Revision, the Bench referring the case shall state the point or points on which they differ from the decision of a former Division Bench, and shall refer the case to a Full Bench for such order as to such Bench may seem fit.**

A Full Bench appointed for the purposes of matters regarding appeals under section 15 of the Letters Patent shall consist of five Judges.* In fact, that is the lowest number necessary to form a Full Bench, properly so called. Every decision of a Full Bench shall be treated as binding on all Division Benches upon the points of law or usage having the force of law determined by the Full Bench, unless it be subsequently reversed by a Bench specially constituted, consisting of such number of Judges as in each case shall have been fixed by the High Court, or unless a contrary rule be laid down by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.†

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* *See* section 526 of Act V of 1898.

† *See* Rule V, Belchambers's *Rules and Orders.*

‡ *See* Rule VI, Belchambers's *Rules and Orders.*

§ *See* Chap. V, Rule I, Belchambers's *Rules and Orders.*

‖ *See* Rules II and IV, Belchambers's *Rules and Orders.*

¶ *See* Rule III, Belchambers's *Rules and Orders.*

** *See* Rule V.

The business of the Privy Council Department on the Appellate Side of the High Court shall be laid before a Division Bench, except in the case of appeals in suits instituted on the Original Side of the High Court.‡ Every petition under section 598 of the Code of Civil Procedure in respect of any decree passed by the High Court in its appellate jurisdiction in the case of an appeal from the Original Side shall be presented to the Appellate Bench for the hearing of appeals from the Original Side.§

What are called in Court language Insolvency matters form a distinct and separate department by itself. Such department, it is true, is presided over by a Judge of the High Court, but it has a procedure and practice of its own. The Civil Procedure Code, which has such wide and extensive application, cannot touch it; and, accordingly, by section 638 of the said Code, it is laid down in so many words that nothing therein contained shall extend or apply to any Judge of a High Court in the exercise of jurisdiction as an Insolvent Court. The law of insolvent debtors, so far as it concerns the High Court, is contained in Statute 11 and 12 Vict., Chap. 21. All insolvency cases arising within the limits of the towns of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Rangoon are to be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of the said Act; whereas similar cases occurring in the mofussil are to be dealt with according to the provisions of Chapter XX of the Code of Civil Procedure. To make this matter clear, section 360 of the Code expressly enacts that nothing in the said Chapter shall apply to any Court having jurisdiction within the limits of any of the three Presidency towns, or of Rangoon, the Recorder's Court in the latter city being placed in the category of High Courts.

As an Insolvent Court, the High Court at Calcutta has jurisdiction only within the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William.*

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* *See* Rule VII.

† *See* Rule VI, Belchambers's *Rules and Orders.*

‡ *See* Rule VIII.

§ *See* Rule IX, with effect from 15th June, 1899.

In 1869 the High Court of Bengal, as well as the High Courts of Madras and Bombay, were constituted by Act IV of that year Courts of Divorce for and in respect of persons professing the Christian religion. Except the Chief Court of the Punjab no other tribunal not established by Royal Charter is competent to grant a *final* decree for dissolution of marriage. The District Courts, it is true, have also a concurrent Divorce jurisdiction with the High or Chief Courts to whose appellate jurisdiction they are subject, but it does not extend to the making a *final* decree for dissolution.†

Besides affairs of a judicial character, the High Court has also to do business which is not of that character. Such business is transacted by a Standing Committee which is composed of the Chief Justice and at least four other Judges to be appointed by him from time to time.

The English Committee, as the Standing Committee is commonly called, is charged with the control and direction of the Subordinate Courts, so far as they are exercised otherwise than judicially. The Committee has power, without reference to the Judges generally,—

(*a*) to dispose of all correspondence within its own department, urgent in its nature and not of general importance;

(*b*) to make recommendations for the appointment of Subordinate Judges, and for the promotion, degradation or suspension of Subordinate Judges and Munsifs;

(*c*) to issue General Letters to the Mofussil Courts;

(*d*) and to dispose of any matter which might ordinarily have been dealt with by the Judge in charge of the English Department, and which he may have referred to the Committee for its opinion.

Generally one Judge is kept in charge of the English Department. But the powers conferred on him may be exercised by two or more Judges of the Court forming the Committee. The Judge in charge of the English Department is empowered to pass orders on—

(*a*) matters arising out of the revision of all periodical returns and statements furnished by the Subordinate Courts;

(*b*) the leave of Munsifs, recommendations to the Local Government for the transfer of Subordinate Judges and Munsifs, and the nomination of Munsifs, subject to consultation with the Chief Justice;

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* *See* Tagore Law Lectures (1872), p. 233.

† *See* Tagore Law Lectures (1872), p. 242.

(*c*) recommendations to Government for the investing of Subordinate Judges and Munsifs with extraordinary powers, such as Small Cause Court powers and the like;

(*d*) applications and routine references connected with the admission and enrolment of pleaders and muktears under Act XVII of 1879, where the orders required are not formal;*

(*e*) all other correspondence not relating to matters judicial, or to orders of other Judges.

The matters on which *all* the Judges shall be consulted are the following:—

(*a*) Changes in the law specially proposed.

(*b*) The Administration Reports annually submitted to Government, when passed by the Judges of the English Committee.

(*c*) Rules which when published will have the force of law.

(*d*) Subjects connected with the relations between the Privy Council and the High Court.

(*e*) All appointments which by law are made by the High Court and which are not otherwise expressly provided.

(*f*) All recommendations for the dismissal from office of judicial officers.

There shall ordinarily be a meeting of the English Committee on every Saturday,† except holidays, at 11 A.M., unless there be no business, or unless another day and time shall be, on any occasion, specially appointed.

Thus have we given a short account of the High Court as it has been existing since 1862. But short as it is, it contains, we hope, all the necessary information on the subject. Now, the question arises whether the said Court, which was constituted as an experimental measure, has realised the hope which was entertained of it at its establishment. Nearly four decades have elapsed since the Supreme and the Sadar Courts were amalgamated and formed into the present High Court. This union did not at all partake of the nature of a "hasty marriage," nor was it made on the principle of "the firstling of the heart should be the firstling of the hand." As a matter of fact, it had been proposed so far back as 1780 by that far-sighted statesman, Warren Hastings, but as the proposal was not then deemed desirable or expedient, it was shelved in. But though the project was not readily adopted, it was too good to be lost altogether; so we find that about the middle of the nineteenth century the matter was again brought to the fore. At the time when the second Indian Law Commission * was appointed, the intention of amalgamating the Queen's and the Company's Courts in the Presidency towns had already been announced to Parliament, and the Commissioners were instructed to address themselves, in the first instance, to the consideration of the preliminary measures necessary for this purpose, in particular to the preparation of a simple and uniform Code of procedure. The Commissioners sat in "famous London town" for about three years till the middle of the year 1856, and presented four reports, in which they submitted a plan for the amalgamation of the Supreme and Sadar Courts, and a uniform Code of Civil and Criminal Procedure, applicable both to the High Court, formed by that amalgamation, and the inferior Courts of British India. They also adverted to the wants of India in respect of substantive civil law, and they submitted their views as to the best mode of supplying those wants.† The recommendations of these Commissioners resulted in important legislation both in Parliament and in the Legislative Council of India. About this time the terrible storm of the Sepoy Mutiny swept over the whole face of Hindustan, and when, at last, it subsided, it became necessary to effect a radical change in the mode of government. The East India Company was deprived of all its powers and privileges as a governing body, and the Crown took upon itself the direct rule of the country. This change in the *regimé* was soon followed by codification of laws, both adjective and substantive. A Code of Civil Procedure—an excellent specimen of its kind—was passed in 1859. The masterly Code which Macaulay had drafted in 1837 was taken up and revised, and became law in 1860. To this piece of sound substantive law was given in the next year a worthy "help-meet" in a

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* By a Resolution of the Judges of the English Committee passed on the 15th July 1891, the Registrar has been authorised to dispose of such applications and references where the orders required are formal, and the requirements of the law and the Court's rules have been duly observed. See Belchambers's *Rules and Orders*, Appellate Side, p. 3, note. Indeed, by section 637 of the Code of Civil Procedure, it is provided that any non-judicial or *quasi*-judicial act which this Code requires to be done by a Judge, and any act which may be done by a Commissioner appointed to examine and adjust accounts under section 394, may be done by the Registrar of the Conrt, or by such other officer of the Court as the Court may direct to do such act. Thus, as a matter of fact, the Registrar holds very large powers.

† The Court does not, as a rule, sit on this day. Thus, there are, in fact two days in every week on which judicial work is not done in Court.

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* This Commission was appoited on November 9th, 1853.

† *See* Sir C. Ilbert's *Legislative Methods and Forms* (1901), pp. 130, 131.

Code of Criminal Procedure. By the Parliamentary Act of 1861, "for establishing High Courts of Judicature (24 and 25 Vict., Chap. 104)," the old Supreme and Sadar Courts at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were amalgamated into the present chartered High Courts, and provision was made for establishing another High Court in the North-West Provinces. Thus, by the year 1861, not only had the grand old Courts of the Presidency towns given way to the present High Courts, but "the chaotic and incomplete Regulations," as Sir C. Ilbert calls them, had received considerable improvements in the matter of procedure, and a Penal Code, which bids fair to serve as a model for the criminal law of the civilised world, had been added to the Indian Statute-book.

The Bengal High Court having been formed in 1862, it has thus had a fair trial so that judgment may well be passed as to whether it has been an improvement upon the old state of things and has resulted in the better administration of justice. High hopes were entertained, when the said High Court was constituted, that it would surpass the old Courts in public esteem and general usefulness. But if the truth must be told, those hopes, we are sorry to observe, have not been realized. The reasons, however, for this sore disappointment are not far to seek. The old Supreme Court, so far as its judicial organization went, was better constituted than the present High Court. The Judges who sat in that Court were, as a rule, trained lawyers and were well conversant with the English law which they had to administer. Most of them were sent direct from England, and as for the few who were taken from the bar here, they were generally the very pick of the profession. After the establishment of the High Court there has been a change in the matter of the selection of Judges,—a change which does not certainly commend itself to sound unprejudiced minds. Now-a-days, very few Judges are imported direct from England, the great majority being, to use a military term, "recruited" from the local bar. These gownsmen have very little experience of the Courts in the home country. They come out to this strange land only a short time after being called to the bar, so that, as a matter of fact, their life as professional men commences on the banks of the Hooghly instead of on the banks of the Thames. The valued traditions of Westminster Hall are, as it were, a sealed treasure to them. Some of them, it is true, rise very high in the profession, but the great body seldom come up to the mark, and somehow manage to live like gentlemen. As for the fortunate few who succeed in commanding a large practice, they do not care to be made Judges, the plain and simple reason being that their professional income is much greater than the pay of a Puisne Judge. A Henderson or an O'Kinealy might accept a Judgeship, but would a Hill or a Garth do so? As for men like Woodroffe or Evans they would be the very last persons even to think of exchanging the bar for the bench. We know very well that Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, who has the largest practice among native barristers, and whose position at the bar is only second to that of Mr. Woodroffe, was more than once offered a Judgeship, but that on each time he made no hesitation in declining the offer. Thus, only men who have not much practice and would clearly be gainers by being elevated to the Bench, are available for a Judgeship. This being the case, it is no wonder that Barrister Judges of the present High Court do not stand on the same plane with the Judges of the old Supreme Court. Indeed, they would suffer much by being compared with them. The Judges of the Supreme Court were, as a rule, not only well read in the principles of law: they also knew how to apply them, having acquired the art by real actual practice at the bar. Of course, there were exceptions, but they were exceptions of that character which only prove the rule. Indeed, some of the Judges were really ornaments to the Bench, and proved themselves remarkable adepts in the momentous matter of the administration of sound, substantial justice. Their decisions would do credit to any Judge in any civilised country. Some of them not only gained their laurels in this country, they also distinguished themslves in the Judicial Committee at home to which they were appointed after their retirement from Indian service. Certain it is, the old Supreme Court had begun in discredit, but that was owing to some peculiar circumstances which came to pass only under the then unsettled state of the Company's affairs. When in course of time the disturbing elements disappeared, the Court rose high in public esteem and confidence, so much so that the Metropolis was deemed a safer and better place to live and transact business in than any station in the mofussil.

But not only were the Judges of the old Supreme Court superior to the Barrister Judges of the existing High Court, the Sadar Judges, too, were made of better stuff than the average Civilian Judges of modern times. Not to speak of Colebrooke, Harington and Barlow, who were of exceptional ability and learning, even an average Sadar Judge would not suffer by being pitted against one of the best Civilian Judges of the High Court. In the good old days of the Honourable John Company, no officer could expect to be promoted to the Sadar Court unless he had served with distinction as Judge and Magistrate for a pretty long period and had laid in a good stock of knowledge and experience both in the executive and the judicial department. But "the tune of the time" has changed, and things have taken an altogether new turn. Now, nothing is more common than for a raw, inexperienced Joint-Magistrate to become a District Judge, and after such a one has served in the latter capacity for some years, he stands a fair chance of being raised to the High Court Bench. In this way, officers who are not well-grounded in law, and, what is of greater importance than legal learning, "sage experience," get into the High Court, and if these men fail to conduct themselves well in the enviable eminence to which they have been raised, they are not so much to blame as the system under which justice is administered in British India. Generally speaking, a High Court Judgeship is the utmost goal a member of the Covenanted Service can expect to reach; but before he hopes to have his expectation fulfilled, it must appear that he has been well in the running; it will not do to jump over the space by some means or other, and thus reach the destination before one has well exercised himself in running. The shortest cut is not always the best path to follow; unless one toils through by taking the ordinary road, it is ten to one he will cut an awkward figure in the post to which he has thus skipped over. The modern Civilians are allowed to step out of the old well-worn way and to reach their goal, as it were, by leaps and bounds. This being so, it should not surprise us if they are found wanting in the high posts to which they have thus managed to rise. Added to this sad want of proper judicial training, the fatal fertility of modern legislation places an insuperable bar to their acquiring a good and fair knowledge of the current laws. Indeed, multiplicity of laws has become a fruitful source of mischief, so that officers who have to administer them find themselves quite at sea, and administration of justice, so far from being helped thereby, is seriously injured. The Indian legislature, following the course of legislation adopted in England, seem to aim at making laws a science. But this does not appear to be a move in the right direction. The Statute-book should be as short and simple as possible, and additions to it should be carefully avoided unless imperatively required by peculiar circumstances. Well does Beccaria say, "The happiest of all nations is that in which the laws have not become a science." The whole of the ancient law of Rome was contained in the Twelve Tables. The laws of the Medes and the Persians were few, and, as the prophet Daniel says, "alter not." Indeed, the fewer the laws, the greater is the opportunity for doing justice. While the East India Company was in power, the number of laws was not so large as they are now, and ence the officers who had to deal with them in the dis- arge of their duties, seldom found difficulty in mastering hem. But since the Government of the country has come to the hands of the Crown, things have taken a new course. he legislative mill is almost always kept agoing, and the ainful result has been that the Courts of Justice are flooded ith laws and regulations. The Statute-book has been rapidly welling in bulk, and if it goes on growing at this rate here is great apprehension of its ere long proving a monster burden enough to break the back of a huge camel. In this state of things it would not be strange if some judicial officers of a somewhat impulsive turn of mind were to play the rôle of a Hardinge and "damn the legality" altogether.

But not only were the Judges of olden times generally of better calibre and of more liberal views than the Judges of the present High Court: the bar too, both European and Native, was much stronger than the bar of modern times. In the whole host of barristers who have joined the High Court since its establishment, you will hardly find one who is well able to hold his own against a Turton, a Dickens, or a Clarke. These have become names to conjure with, and are not likely to be forgotten so long as forensic championship retains its hold on the public mind. But they did not stand alone like oases in a sandy desert; there were others who also cut remarkable figures and stood high in popular esteem, so that it is very unlikely that posterity would willingly let them die. Now, what is true of the barristers is also true of the pleaders of old. Waller, Prasanna Coomar and Rama Prosad were mighty champions on the arena of the Court, and in the rough and tumble of forensic fight well acquitted themselves to the wonder and admiration of all beholders. Their mental might was such that "each an army seemed alone," and showed a bold front against a whole array of puny combatants. Like the above-named barristers, they also had their compeers who sometimes fought with them and sometimes against them. Any such veteran we look for in vain in the ranks of the vakils of the present High Court, barring, of course, some honourable exceptions whose number, however, is miserably small. Thus, many fortuitous circumstances combined to secure for the old Supreme and Sadar Courts an enviable popularity: No wonder, then, their revered memory is still cherished in grateful remembrance.

During the all but patriarchal rule of the good old Company, litigation was not so rampant as it is now, and hence the number of cases which the Sadar Judges had to decide was comparatively small. This being the real state of affairs, if those Judges were actuated by a deep sense of duty as most of them were, they could devote sufficient time to the consideration of cases which came on for hearing before them, and so it happened that in the majority of cases they did real substantial justice between the parties. In the High Court, on the other hand, owing to an enormous increase in the number of cases, the Judges are often found to do their work somewhat perfunctorily, and thus they fail to give satisfaction to persons who, smarting under a sense of wrong and injustice done them, come to Court for relief. But because the file of cases is heavy, that is no reason why they should be dealt with recklessly. Better that there should be delay—and the "law's delay" is proverbial—than that any case should be disposed of without due consideration being brought to bear upon it. But strange to say,—and we blush to put it in black and white,—a notion has got rooted in some Judges that the more they dispose of cases, the better they deserve of the public. But this is a very mistaken and mischievous notion, and the sooner it is eradicated, the better for the well-being of the community and the honour of the judiciary. By thus playing drakes and ducks with cases as though they were "trifles light as air," the so-called dispensers of justice may gain the good graces of Government, but public esteem, the value of which cannot be estimated in money, they cannot hope to gain, nor can they have that peace of mind arising from a quiet and peaceful conscience, which is "its own exceeding great reward," nor escape from having a very hard time of it at the most solemn Tribunal on High before which every man of woman born would have to give an account of his conduct in this life. Such "speedy despatchers," if one might so call them, so far from being worthy of being honoured as dispensers of justice, ought to be denounced as judicial butchers and treated as such. The Sadar Judges generally felt a strong desire to do justice, and, as is often the case with men in such mood of mind, succeeded in having their wish gratified to the satisfaction of themselves as well as to the advantage of the public. But unfortunately, such strong desire,—such keen sense of justice,—appears to be wanting in the majority of the Judges of the High Court, who seem to attach greater importance to the number of cases disposed of than to the manner in which they are disposed of. In other words, they look not so much to the quality of work done as to its quantity; and thus, while they secure the cheap favour of the powers that be, they forfeit the much-prized approbation of their conscience,—a faculty of which it has been well said by a great English moralist, that, "had it strength as it had right, had it power as it had manifest authority, it would absolutely govern the world."

One of the most important functions of a High Court Judge is the decision of special, or as they are now more commonly called, second, appeals. These appeals, though generally not of much importance in a pecuniary point of view, often involve very nice and intricate questions of law. But unfortunately for the good name of British justice, they do not, as a rule, receive sufficient attention at the hands of the Judges. As in deciding these appeals the Judges are not swayed by any other sanction than the "still small voice" of the "inner saint" within them, they are often found to pay little or no attention to the disposal thereof, and the result is that their decisions which, by-the-bye, are in most cases no decisions at all but bare arbitrary orders couched in half-a-dozen words, fail to give even a shadow of satisfaction to the parties who, at an immense loss of time and money, come to them for judicial help. In fact, as the common saying goes, second appeals have no *Mábáp*, and, as such, are dealt with in a rash, reckless manner. But nothing is more disgraceful, we had almost said culpable, than for a professed dispenser of justice to follow such a wild unseemly course. True it is, such appeals are only tenable on questions of law or usage having the force of law, or material defect in procedure resulting in error of judgment on the merits. But this very circumstance so far from warranting a Judge to hurry over them in hot haste, as is too often done, ought to make him more than ordinarily careful in handling them. But, as a matter of fact, in dealing with such appeals, the Judges, be it said to their discredit, appear to start with the supposition, gratuitous as it is, that they do not involve any such question as is stated above, and unless they are fully convinced to the contrary—a feat, which only very few can hope to perform—they are sure to throw them out as not coming within the purview of law. An officer bearing such a sacred appellation as Judge would not be justified in deciding a case one way or the other until he satisfies himself by his own individual efforts as well as by extraneous aid how it really stands. A young, inexperienced counsel or vakil may not be able to put his client's case in its true light, but surely a Judge should not make that a plea for disposing it of without any further consideration on his own part. The Judge himself has a duty to perform, and unless on a careful consideration of the facts and circumstances, he, thinks that the case is not really tenable on any of the grounds on which a second appeal is sustainable, he cannot, in fairness and in justice to himself, dismiss it. Indeed, it is often very difficult to determine what is a question of law and what is not, or, when a case involves a mixed question of law and fact, to say how far it is law and how far it is fact, that is, where law ends and fact begins. Again, there are some Judges who, when an appeal happens to be argued by a junior man, do not pay the same attention as they would do if it were argued by a well-known member of the bar. Such distinction it does not become a Judge to make. On the contrary, a beginner in the profession, instead of being treated in such an uncourt-like way, deserves to be encouraged, and there have been Judges who, if they saw a young practitioner getting nervous, or groping in the dark, would use encouraging words in order to bring him round, or throw out suggestive hints with a view to put him in the right way. All that a Judge is required to do is to look to the merits of each case in all its bearings, and if he finds that it is a good case for the appellant it will be his bounden duty to decree it, no matter whether it is argued by an experienced veteran or by a mere tyro. Administration of justice to be pure and undefiled, must be impartial, but impartiality is not feasible where such invidious distinctions are made. In the good old days of the Sadar, such complaints were not so common as they are now. We know of a well-known Judge who carried his view of favouritism to such an unusual extent that a pet vakil whom he had brought down from the mofussil, and who afterwards rose very high in the profession, almost invariably won cases in his Bench, and even when on some rare occasion, he lost any, his defeat was made a theme for glorification. This is not as it should be, and if such conduct is improper in the ordinary affairs of life, it is simply reprehensible in the serious matter of the administration of justice. Sadar Judges were not generally well-trained lawyers, but they always had their heart at work, and as they commonly possessed sound good sense, in nine cases out of ten they succeeded in doing substantial justice. Plain, common sense is a very valuable possession, and one who has a fair share of it seldom goes wrong. A Judge to be successful must be a practical man, and none can prove to be so who has not a fair share of common sense nor has sufficient regard for it. No Sadar Judge would ever bother his head about the nice technicalities of law; he would take broad views of cases and try to do substantial justice, which is all that is required of a good Judge. In these circumstances it is only natural that Sadar Judges should have been more liked by the people than their brethren of the High Court are at the present day.

Thus, in the long run the Supreme and Sadar Courts fared much better with the people than the High Court by which they have been replaced. While Sir Barnes Peacock was at the head of the latter Court he managed matters so very adroitly that the people saw no reason to complain of the change which was made in the matter of the administration of justice. Sir Barnes was a very able Judge, and was well conversant with the ways and methods of the Supreme Court, of which he was the last Chief. He was also a thorough master of the laws which the newly-constituted Court had to administer. As for his co-adjutors on the Bench, most of them were Judges of the old Courts where they had already won their spurs; and as for the new comers, they were mostly picked men and were well suited to their appointmeuts. Under such circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the new Court fully maintained the reputation which the old Courts had gained with the people among whom their lots were cast. Sir Barnes retired in 1870, and was succeeded by Sir Richard Couch, who had already distinguished himself as Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court. Sir Richard was an able Judge, no doubt, though not so brilliant as his illustrious predecessor, and in his hands the high esteem and regard which the High Court had earned under the blessed rule of Sir Barnes, did not suffer much if at all. Sir Richard's colleagues on the Bench were also worthy men, and they did him knight's service in the matter of the administration of justice. But with the retirement of Sir Richard Couch, which took place in 1875, there has been a perceptible decadence in the position and prestige of the Court. His successor, Sir Richard Garth, was undoubtedly a sound lawyer, and had the good of the country at heart. But he fell considerably short of the great " Pocockus " both in general ability and knowledge of law ; nor was he a good match even for his immediate predecessor. In the matter of help from co-adjutors, too, he was not so fortunate as either of the last two Chief Justices. No wonder, then, that the Court suffered much in general repute, and the firm confidence with which the people had always sought the safety of its sanctuary was considerably shaken. During the incumbency of Sir William Comer Petheram who succeeded Sir Richard Garth, matters did not show any sign of improvement : they remained almost as they were. The High Court was considered as the palladium of justice, and people resorted to it in the belief that the wrongs which they had sustained at the hands of their fellow-men would be righted, and in the majority of cases they did, as a matter of fact, get adequate relief. Iu this way the Court had gained its prestige for even-handed justice, and this prestige it preserved for a pretty considerable period. But a change of circumstances brought about a change in the matter, and the high prestige which it had gained was found to be on the decline. The people lost much of their confidence in the Court and with this loss of confidence their regard for it was considerably diminished. In this state of things Sir Francis William Maclean, the present Chief Justice, joined his high office. He is a plucky-pushing man and has been trying his best to regain for the High Court the ground which it has lost in public esteem. The very attempt in this direction is laudable, whether his noble efforts will be crowned with success or not is a different question. The High Court is the foremost Tribunal in the land and its aid is sought after all attempts at getting relief from other quarters have failed. Such a Court which people wistfully look to as their final haven of hope, must be exceptionally well-constituted and by the right dispensing of pure unalloyed justice inspire confidence in the minds of the people. The Judges holding the scales of justice therein must possess all the qualities which are absolutely necessary for the due discharge of high judicial functions. Their sole end and aim should be to dispense even-handed justice. Indeed, this must be the ever-fixed pole to which the magnet of their mind should always turn. Speedy justice, however it may find favour in some quarters, is only a misnomer for justice. As Sir James Stephen says, "To do injustice quickly is the easiest thing in the world. To do justice quickly and easily is simply impossible." Haste and hurry make a Judge go astray, however well-intentioned he may be in other respects. Indeed, the course of justice to be smooth and even, must be reasonably slow, and where that is so, it is generally found to be sure. The proper duty of a Judge is not to polish off the largest number of cases in the soonest possible time, but to do justice between two contending parties on a careful consideration of the facts and circumstances. If this is true of any dispenser of justice, it is preeminently true of the master dispenser who presides in the highest Court in the land. His main duty being to examine and supervise the decisions of Judges of inferior Courts, unless he give them his utmost attention and consideration, he cannot be said to have duly done his duty. Nelson's watchword is of a very wide application, and if the Judges of the High Court respond to this solemn sacred call, there is every chance of its regaining the dear old ground which it has lost. But, much depends upon the ability, industry, and, above all, the example of the Chief appointed to guide it, and the discretion with which he directs the labours, or stimulates the zeal of his colleagues. Thus a heavy responsibility rests on Sir Francis Maclean, and we sincerely hope that he will try to discharge it in the best way he can. The High Court is the holiest sanctuary of justice, and it behoves its high priests by peacably settling civil disputes between parties and manfully repressing violence against the body politic, to contribute towards the peace and prosperity of the country. In its strength will be the people's safeguard against oppression; in its purity their safeguard against corruption; and in its judgment their safeguard against injustice.

SHUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY.

ART. IX.—NOTES ON GOVIN CHUNDER DUTT.

GOVIN CHUNDER DUTT'S grandfather, Nilmony Dutt, better known as Niloo Dutt,—was a well-known resident of Calcutta in the latter half of the eighteenth century, *i.e.*, in the days of Clive and Warren Hastings. I have often heard my grandfather (a younger son of Niloo Dutt) say, that Nilmony kept an open house, and was known for his hospitality. Brahmans and pious men, who went every morning for their bath in the Hughli river, assembled at Niloo Dutt's house on their return, and were welcomed and entertained with refreshments. The foremost men of Calcutta reckoned Niloo Dutt among their friends; Maharaja Naba Kissen of Sobhabazar esteemed him; and Maharaja Nand Kumar visited him in his house. Liberal and catholic in his ideas, he was equally well known to many prominent Englishmen of the day, and was a friend of Christian Missionaries. The preaching of Christianity was prohibited at that time; and the Missionary Carey, when pursued by the agents of the East India Company, found shelter with Niloo Dutt, who concealed him for a time. A well-known, well-beloved, hospitable, and charitable man, Niloo Dutt lived the life of the highest class Hindu of the eighteenth century, and passed away in the early years of the nineteenth century, leaving his property much involved.

His eldest son, Rossomoy Dutt, was a stern economist; he cleared the debts left by his father, and reared a fortune and a reputation as one of the foremost men of his day. The British Government sought the co-operation of able Indian gentlemen in spreading English education and in other liberal measures; and soon recognized the splendid abilities of Rossomoy Dutt. Rossomoy was appointed Secretary to the Sanskrit College of Calcutta; he was afterwards appointed a Judge of the Small Cause Court of Calcutta, then a position of high honor and trust; and he took a leading part in all the great public movements during the first half of the nineteenth century. He had a splendid collection of English books in his house, and infused in his sons that strong partiality for English literature which distinguishes the family to this day. Liberal in his ideas, and also in his expenses, he set his face, however, against that extravagance in the matter of Hindu poojas and ceremonials which had involved his father in debt; and this gave him a bad name with many Brahmans and orthodox men. Rossomoy Dutt's life marks a transition in the Hindu society under English influences. He died shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century.

Among the cultured sons of Rossomoy Dutt, Govin Chunder was the most distinguished. He held a high appointment under the Indian Government in the Accounts Department, but soon resigned service, and devoted his leisure, in retirement, to literature and to religious studies. Early in life he had published a volume of English verses; and these productions, together with some poems written by his cousin Shoshee Chunder Dutt, received the deserved compliment of a favourable review in *Blackwood's Magazine* in England. After his retirement, he embraced the Christian religion with his wife and children, his brothers and nephews; and his wife and two daughters accompanied him to England in 1869. There he brought out his maturer poems, with those of his two brothers and a nephew, in a handsome little volume under the title of the *Dutt Family Album*. And his talented daughter, Toru Dutt, won a still higher distinction by her own English verses and her translations from French poetry. But the climate of Europe had told on the young poetess and her sister; and both the girls died within a few years after their return to India. Govin Chunder himself followed them not long after.

I have vivid recollections of the visits which I used to pay, as a boy, to Govin Chunder, then living with his wife and children, in retirement, in their garden-house at Bagmaree, in the suburbs of Calcutta. It was an extensive garden, covering many acres of land, and shaded by fruit-trees; and there was a rustic bridge over a canal, which was the delight of our boyhood. We had the run of the whole garden, and Govin Chunder's only son, Abju, shewed us his favourite secluded places. Poor boy, he died early, and his loss was an abiding grief to his parents. In the midst of this forest of fruit-trees rose the comfortable and spacious one-storeyed bungalow house,—a perfect picture of repose! There was a good collection of choice books in the house, for study was Govin Chunder's only recreation. Sometimes our grandfather,—Govin Chunder's uncle,—accompanied us in these visits; and I remember the persuasive manner in which Govin Chunder spoke of Christian doctrines and precepts to us. He was never aggressive, never controversial; to the end of his life, Govin Chunder always retained those perfect manners which best befit a cultured, broad-minded, kind-hearted gentleman.

I have recollections also of the time when we met in England. I was a young man then, and had passed the open competition for the Civil Service of India in 1869; and shortly after, Govin Chunder arrived in England with his wife and his two accomplished daughters. I secured rooms for them at Grosvenor's Hotel, and shortly after they took a furnished house at Brompton. It is needless to say that I often visited them there, and spent many pleasant hours with my young cousins. Literary work and religious studies were still the sole occupation of Govin Chunder and his family, and they made the acquaintance of many pious Christians. When the *Dutt Family Album* came out, Govin Chunder presented me with a copy, marked out the poems which were his own, and read, almost with tears in his eyes, the verses he had written on his deceased son.

I saw him also, pretty often, after we had all returned to India. I think it was the state of his daughter's health which had cut short his stay in England. They had now left the Bagmaree Garden House, and lived in a newly-built house in the town, close to their ancestral residence. They were as kind, as gracious, as courteous towards me as ever, and their hearts were full of piety. But the fatal illness, of which the germs were brought from Europe, declared itself. First the eldest daughter Aru, and then the talented Toru, fell ill and died. Toru's verses were praised in England by Edmund Gosse, and admired by a select circle of readers; had she lived to a maturer age, she might have left a name in English literature. Govin Chunder survived them a few years, and his widow followed him after some more years. Thus passed away one of the worthiest families that ever lived, and I venture to place this humble wreath on their graves.

ROMESH DUTT.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Annual Report on the Police Administration of the Town of Calcutta, and its Suburbs, for the year 1901. By R. A. D'O. Bignell, Esq., Commissioner of Police, Calcutta.

IT is refreshing to read, in the Resolution issued by the Government of Bengal on this Annual Report,—"In contrast to previous years, the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, has submitted his Annual Report on the Police Administration in the Town and Suburbs of Calcutta, with *excellent punctuality.*"

The office of Commissioner of Police was held from the beginning of the year to 16th April by Mr. A. H. James: on his retirement, Mr. E. M. Showers was appointed to the post, but retired on the 5th September to join a responsible appointment under Government in South Africa. For the remainder of the year Mr. F. L. Halliday, Officiating Deputy Commissioner, acted as Commissioner. The constitution of the force under the Commissioner's control underwent practically no change during the year, and the number of casualties amongst its members, and of punishments inflicted, presents little variation from the figures of preceding years.

The total number of cognizable cases reported during the year under review is 25,115 against 38,353 in 1900, and 34,282 in 1899. The net decrease is 13,238 cases and 9,167 cases for these years, as compared with the figure for the year under review, and is chiefly under the petty heads of offences, *viz.*, public and local nuisances, Police Act, and Cruelty to Animals Act. The figure for the five months before the strike under the three petty heads of offences noted above, being 9,562 against 5,119 for the seven months after the strike, the monthly average of cases reported being 1,912·4 against 731. The decrease in cases is attributable to the strike amongst carters and hackney carriage drivers which occurred on the morning of the 8th June, and spread over the whole of Calcutta town and suburbs. Twenty-three thousand four hundred and forty-six cognizable cases were reported to the Police, of which 19,874 or 84·7 per cent. were tried, and 19,018 cases or 95·6 per cent. of cases tried ended in conviction, 47 cases were pending trial at close of the year; 1,669 cognizable cases were instituted direct before the Magistrates, 480 were dismissed without trial, 9 were tried. Of these 477 or 53·0 per cent. were convicted, d 31 cases were pending trial at close of the year.

There were 16,718 non-cognizable cases; 1,234 were dismissed without trial, 9,895 were tried, and 8,665 or 87·5 per cent. were convicted, 238 cases were pending trial at close of the year.

Sixty-two false cases are adjudged to the town and 20 in the suburbs, against 44 and 29, the corresponding figures for 1900. Out of eight town prosecutions, instituted under the Penal Code for bringing false complaints, convictions were obtained in four cases, in one of which the culprit was sentenced to imprisonment; in the remaining cases it was considered useless to institute proceedings for want of evidence. In the suburbs 20 prosecutions were instituted, convictions resulted in two cases, sentence of imprisonment was passed in one case, and a fine of Rs. 20 in the other. In the remaining cases, four were withdrawn, and fourteen discharged.

The value of the property stolen, both in the town and suburbs was Rs. 2,53,685-11-7 against Rs. 2,14,605, and the amount of property recovered was Rs. 1,34,290-12-3 against Rs. 1,18,204 in the previous year. The percentage of property recovered during the year was 52·9 against 55·0 in 1900. Of the total amount of property stolen, Rs. 98,183-1-7 or 38·7 per cent. was in cash.

There were fourteen cases relating to coin, and thirteen persons were put on trial,—eight were discharged and five convicted. One case is of note and occurred in the Jorabagan section of the town, in which the accused was arrested in the act of coining, with implements of coining by his side, and four partially-made rupees. He was sentenced to eight years' rigorous imprisonment. There were nine cases of murder as against six cases in 1900. Three cases were undetected. In one case accused evaded arrest during the year, two were acquitted, and three convicted. In the suburbs there were two murder cases, to one of which no clue could be obtained, and the other, on medical examination, was found to be insane. There were four cases of culpable homicide as against two in the previous year. The sentences were seven years' rigorous imprisonment, and ten years' transportation, and the third was acquitted. Three cases of unnatural offence were reported as against two in 1900: one person was sent up for trial and convicted. There were 66 cases of grievous hurt in the town, of whom 39 were convicted, 24 acquitted, and cases against six persons were pending trial at the close of the year. In the suburbs 37 cases were reported as against 31 in 1,900: 23 persons were sent up for trial, of whom nine were convicted, two acquitted, and twelve cases compromised. There were fifteen cases of kidnapping in both town and country as compared with eleven last year,—six were convicted and nine acquitted. In the 129 cases of hurt b dangerous weapons, 130 were sent up for trial, of whom 65 w convicted, and 43 acquitted, of the others one died, three were withdrawn, twelve compromised, and six pending trial. Last year the number of arrests for grievous hurt was 163.

The number of true cases of burglary and lurking house-trespass,—in the town there has been an increase of 31 cases and in the country a decrease of eight during the year. The number of thefts, in the town, 2,192 as against 2,077, shewing an increase of 115 cases—and in the suburbs 601 cases against 572 in 1900,—an increase of 29. The percentage of property recovered in the one case was 52·9 against 55·0 of the previous year, and in the other 32·8 against 44·7 of last year.

There were 104 cases of suicide against 102 in 1900. In the town and river divisions, 67 of the deceased were Hindus (40 males and 27 females), 4 Mahommedans, (all males), 4 Christians (1 male and 3 females), and other sects, 2 males,—in the suburbs, 25 were Hindus (13 males and 12 females) and 2 Mahommedans, both females : 55·7 per cent. of the suicides were caused by opium poisoning. The total number of accidental deaths was 358 against 306 in 1900 : 43 persons were run over and killed against 27 in 1,900. Out of 291 persons prosecuted for rash and furious driving, 232 were convicted.

The number of vagrants in the Government Workhouse at the close of the year was less than at the close of last year,—*viz.*, 86 as against 100—32 were discharged on obtaining employment, 17, for whom no employment could be found, were released under the first clause of section 16 of the Act. Twenty-two were removed from the workhouse and 15 remained at the close of 1901.

The expenditure was Rs. 5,563-4-0, *viz.*, Rs. 1,059-12-0 in removing vagrants from British India, Rs. 3,028-8-0 for feeding and clothing men in the workhouse, and Rs. 1,440 on account of establishment, and contingencies Rs. 35. The increase in expenditure was due to the longer periods inmates remained in the workhouse.

The Fire-Brigade was employed at 106 fires against 80 in 1900. The Brigade was called out on 33 occasions, 11 in the town and river, 11 in the suburbs, and 11 in Howrah. The remaining fires were of a petty description. The most serious fires were at Sulkea in the West Hydraulic Press,—when the loss was Rs. 1,56,000 : the other in the Strand Bank Hydraulic Jute Press at Nawapatty,—when the loss was Rs. 1,60,000. The total loss of property from fires was Rs. 4,09,974 against Rs. 8,57,341 in 1900. It is satisfactory that there was no loss of life by fire during the year.

The actual strength of the police force employed in the town and suburbs was 3,010, sixty-five men were dismissed from the force as against 66 in 1900. This number is made up of four European constables, six native officers, and 55 native constables of the lower grade. The total cost of the force was Rs. 8,33,555.

Report on the Administration of the Police of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh for the year ending 31st December 1901.

IN these Provinces, for the year under review, there is a decrease in reported crime of 38,376 cases, or 18 per cent. on the figures for the previous year. This is most satisfactory—for the figures for 1901 are the lowest recorded in the past twelve years. There has been an increase under certain heads of crime—the less serious,—but a decrease of the more serious preventible crime—on this account, therefore, the figures are even better than they look at first sight. Of dakáiti of all kinds, including cases reported to Magistrates, there were 350 cases left on the record as true, to which are to be added 66 cases remaining over, from the previous year, or 416 for disposal as compared with 542 in 1900. Of these, 156 were disposed of, 100 ending in conviction. The number of persons whose cases were disposed of was 965, of whom 381 were convicted.

District officers are in the habit of including in the return of special and professional crime all cases of dakáitis—but, as a matter of fact, there were only 104 of the professional type committed by armed gangs, out of the 341 reported as professional dakáiti—the number had been 151 in 1900.

There was a notable decrease in the number of cases in Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Aligarh, Agra, Manipuri, Etah, Bijnor, Moradabad, Pilibhit, Banda, Jhansi, Sitapur, Kheri and Fyzabad. The districts of Mirzapur, Ballia, Unao, Bahraich, Gonda and Bara Banki show an increase, though only important in the case of the last three districts, whilst Dehra Dun, Azamgarh and Partabgarh were free from this class of crime. It is satisfactory to note that the number of dakáitis in the United Provinces in which fire-arms were used or carried, decreased by 47. The operations resulted in the suppression of the principal gangs—and the practical result is that at present there is no gang of notoriety at work. The notorious *dakáit*, Bhagwan Din, of Bahraich, has been arrested since the submission of the report.

The number of true cases of robbery reported was 779, whilst 68 cases were pending trial from the previous year,—and of these 707 were classed as special or professional, decrease of 14. Prosecutions were more successful than 1900. Professional poisonings fell from 21 to 16, and t total number of true cases of poisoning from 46 to 32. Murders showed a small decrease. There were ten cases of murder by women of their children. In one case sentence of death was passed, but it was reduced by the High Court to transportation for life. In six cases the sentence passed was mitigated by Government.

The number of cases of culpable homicide decreased by 17, but the work was not quite so successful as in 1900; as although there were 22 cases less for disposal—the percentage of convictions was less. Of grievous hurt, the cases had increased by 84. The total number for disposal was 2,510 as compared with 2,425 in 1900. The tendency to deal leniently with this class of crime is criticised, the worst instance being one in which a brutal assault on a woman was punished with a very short term of imprisonment, the reason given being that she had a scolding tongue.

There were ten cases of conviction of professional coiners, in nearly all of which heavy sentences were passed.

Lurking house-trespass or house-breaking decreased by more than 27 per cent. The Inspector-General says, "Nowhere, however, is weakness in detection more apparent than in this class of crime. In fact, many districts comment on the fact that, unless the burglar is caught on the spot, detection seldom follows." He also recommends that enquiry by the Police, in burglary cases, should only be compulsory when the complainant desires it, without reference to the value of the property stolen.

The number of true reports of cattle theft was 3,497, a decrease of 20 per cent. as compared with 1900.

The Resolution of Government on the Report calls special attention as to the method of obtaining the assistance of chaukidárs and headmen, and of the villagers generally, in suppressing crime:—

> "We cannot blame the people for preferring to pay a little black mail, and recover their cattle themselves, which they can generally do. A Police inquiry costs far more and is much more harassing. As the Commissioner of Meerut points out, if we could obtain full reporting a severe blow would be dealt to the professional thief and receiver. If, however, we compel fuller reporting we must give owners better results in the way of recoveries, and this can only be done by a more thorough system of supervision of receivers than at present exists. The village headmen could, if they were willing, bring nearly all cases to light: but the Police will have none of them and their assistance is lost. So, also, could the chaukidár; and the only successful work done is where sensible Sub-Inspectors make friends of the chaukidárs and get the work out of them. But the Police despise the chaukidárs and, as they are ill paid and have more to gain from the attachments they naturally form in their villages, this valuable aid is also thrown away. The extent to which cattle theft is prevalent and can be concealed is evidenced by a raid in the Bulandshahr district made by the

> Delhi and Bulandshahr Police on a Gújar village, from which over 300 head of stolen cattle were recovered. The Magistrate of Moradabad, finding the Police impotent, started a crusade of his own in a notorious tract of the district. When the people realized that action was to be taken against the ringleaders in earnest, they came forward at once, with the result that many were prosecuted and others absconded. Many of these men were in the pay of leading zamindárs as Karindas and Padháns, these landholders admitting that they employed them as a means of preserving their own and their tenants' cattle from being raided. There appears to be little reason why, if a Magistrate can do this, a District Superintendent and his men should not be able to do so likewise, if they would enlist the zamindárs and chaukidárs on their side: otherwise they are helpless. It is certainly not difficult to find out who are the notorious cattle thieves in each district; and proper surveillance and inter-district co-operation could do much."

Under the working of the Criminal Tribes Act—no new tribe was proclaimed during the year. The tribes dealt with in this Report are the Sanauriahs of Jhansi and Lalitpur—the Barwars of Gonda—the Sansiahs of Muzaffarnagar, Jaunpur, Kheri and other districts—the Doms of Gorakhpur and the Haburahs of Moradabad—the two last are unprogressive but inoffensive; while there is little progress to report in the work of re-claiming the first two tribes. The sanctioned strength of the Provincial Police was 4,740 officers and 19,297 men: of the Municipal and Cantonment Police 222 officers and 2,287 men; of the Railway Police 257 officers and 690 men. In addition there were 619 jamadars and 6,611 chaukidárs employed in municipalities.

The decrease in the number of desertions is satisfactory, as also the decrease in the number of resignations, but this is counterbalanced by the number of men discharged within the probationary period. We learn that service in the Police is not popular—and this is not to be wondered at when the Army recruit receives Rs. 9 per to commence with, while the Police recruit receives only Rs. 6.

Report on the Police Administration in the Punjab for the year ending 31st December 1901.

IN this Report, as in others under notice, we are glad to notice a marked abatement during the year of serious crime; and there were considerable decrease in the number of murders, dakáitis, robberies and, especially, burglaries, and this is to be attributed, chiefly, to the excellent autumn harvest of 1900 and the spring harvest of 1901, which was the best on record. Want is the parent of crime but not of hardened criminals—a plentiful year, therefore, naturally results in the diminution of crime. In the present case the excellent harvest was helped by the energy of the Police; and to the result of their operations must be partly attributed the decrease in murders and robberies.

With regard to false coins there were 125 offences as against 171 in 1900. During the last twelve months much attention has been paid to offences of this kind, and several raids have been made on the workshop of counterfeiters.

There is, without doubt, a large amount of counterfeit coin in circulation; and as some of the coins contain the same amount of silver that genuine rupees contain, and the workmanship is good, detection is not always easy even to persons accustomed to handle coin. There are also some forged 5-rupee notes in circulation which almost defy detection. One of these notes was traced to a postal peon who had received it in payment of a value-payable parcel. The peon had paid it away to a shop-keeper after he had been informed by the Post Office Treasurer that it was a forgery. The peon was sent for trial and convicted, but eventually acquitted by the Sessions Judge, who held that the forgery was such a good one that no one but an expert could say whether it was not genuine.

There is a great decrease in the number of murders as compared with the previous five years. Excluding the Mianwali District, the number of murders reported for the remaining 26 districts of the Punjab was 497 in 1897 and 477 and 507 in 1898 and 1899 respectively, whereas in the present year the number was 447. This satisfactory result was no doubt chiefly due to the comparative immunity from dacoity which many parts of the Punjab enjoyed during 1901. With regard to cattle thefts, there is an increase. The Report says:—

> But our statistics do not give an approximate idea of the extent to which cattle lifting is carried on. The fact is that the people do not report their losses, but trust to being able to arrange for the return of the animals by communicating with the thieves through middlemen. This was brought very prominently to notice a few months ago when Mr. Hyde, Assistant District Superintendent of Police, Delhi, acting in concert with the District Superintendent of Police, Bulandshahr, made a raid on the cattle pens of a village on the left bank of the Jumna and seized some 400 odd head of cattle, a large number of which belonged to inhabitants of the Delhi District, who had made no reports of their disappearance.

Four Lee Enfield rifles, one Martini-Metford carbine, two Martini Henry rifles, one Snider carbine, four revolvers and 1,454 rounds of ammunition were stolen in the province. Of these only four weapons were recovered, but no professional rifle thieves were convicted.

The value of property stolen and recovered during the last two years is as follows:—Stolen in 1900, Rs. 11,95,067; in 1901, Rs. 9,21,868. Recovered, 1900, Rs. 4,40,818; 1901, Rs. 4,19,122.

These figures give a percentage of recoveries of Rs. 37 for 1900 and Rs. 45 for 1901. The strength of the force at the close of the year was 14,827 Constables, 2,358 Sergeants, 67 Inspectors, 27 Assistant District Superintendents, 31 District Superintendents, two Deputy Inspector-Generals and one Inspector-General.

The estimated cost of the force was Rs. 34,67,663, and the number of punishments 1,526. Money rewards were granted to 1,273, aggregating Rs. 1,440.

It is interesting to notice the castes from which the force is drawn. During the year 1,805 men were recruited, and of those 227 were Rajputs, 222 Jâts, 156 Sayads, 144 Pathans, 138 Brahmans, 135 Sikhs, and 2 Christians.

The Lieutenant-Governor, in his remarks on this Report, thanks Mr. Turton Smith and Mr. C. Brown, both of whom had, successively, during the year, occupied the post of Inspector-General. Mr. Turton Smith retired on the 10th of July 1901, after a long and meritorious service of thirty-eight years.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

History of India, for High Schools, by C. F. De La Fosse, M.A., Oxon, Inspector of Schools, N.-W. P. and Oudh, and Fellow of the Allahabad University, 285 pp. Macmillan & Co., London, 1902.

THIS is a most readable and helpful History of India. It was given into the hands of one who knew little of the history of this vast Empire, and his verdict was "most concise interesting, and valuable."

Although this history is intended primarily for students, it is hoped that it may prove useful to a wider class of readers. Its object is to give, in a convenient compass, a general outline of the history of India, from the earliest times down to the end of the nineteenth century. It differs from existing small histories of India in two main respects: the Hindu period has been dealt with at greater length, and the chronological order of events has been throughout more closely followed in the narrative. It has been the writer's aim to include only such matter as is important from its relation to the general history of the country: and for this reason the earlier history of the Deccan has not been treated so fully as its intrinsic interest might otherwise have warranted.

This work is divided into four Books. Book I covers the Hindu period, and treats of the Vedic Age,—The Age of the Brahmanas; the Sutra Period; the Buddhist Age, and the Rajput Ascendancy. Book II is of the Muhammedan Period, and has the following four chapters; Afghan Rule: Moghul Supremacy; and the Decline of the Moghul Empire.

Book III covers the British Period, and tells us of the Foundation of British Rule in India; the Governor-Generals of British India, and India under the Crown.

There are many good woodcuts, illustrating this small volume—the last of which is an excellent one of the present Viceroy.

A Second Handful of Popular Maxims, current in Sanskrit Literature, collected by Colonel G. A. Jacob, Indian Staff Corps, 74 pages. "Nirnaya-sagar" Press, Bombay.

COLONEL JACOB says in his Preface:—"When the first "handful of nyâyas was published, I had no thought of "bringing out another. Maxim-hunting, however, had become "too interesting an amusement to be lightly laid aside; so, instead "of abandoning it, I set to work more vigorously than ever, and "the following pages are the outcome of eighteen months' further "research. During this period, I have retraversed some old "ground, but the best results have been obtained from a thorough "overhauling of the philosophical works published in the "Vizianagram Sanskrit Series."

He had the opportunity, for the first time, of studying Raghunâthavarman's Laukikanyâyasangraha in the MSS. in the India Office Library. He has also examined every verse of Sures'varas large vârtika on the Brihadâranyakopanishadbhâshya, and of his smaller one on the Taittirîyopanishadbhâshya, also the Âtmatattvavviveka and S'abara's bhâshya on Jaimini. We proceed now to give a few of these popular maxims with their modern equivalents :

Proclaiming the name of a son before he is born, i. e., Counting your chickens before they are hatched. This saying is found in the Nyâyamanjari, p. 345.

Better a doubtful condition of things than a crushing defeat. This occurs in the *Nyâyavârtikatâtparyatîkâ* 5, 1, 43. This seems akin to our "Half a loaf is better than none."

One who leans on a blind man will fall with him at every step, in *Bhâmatî* (page 20), akin to "If the blind lead the blind, both will fall into the ditch".

It is wrong to quarrel with that on which one's livelihood depends. (It is found in *Paribhâshendus'ekhara* 85——) or as we should say, "Don't quarrel with your bread-and-butter !"

A Brâhman does not become a Kirâta by living on the S'âlagrâma mountain filled with hundreds of those barbarians ! This is equivalent to our saying, "A horse does not become an ass by being born in the stable of the latter."

Not even by the employment of a thousand different processes can Syâmâka gram be made to germinate as rice, reminding us of those sayings from another part of the Orient :—"Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles ?" and again, "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap."

A lamp will not throw light on an object before it is brought in (Nyâyamanjarî). Perhaps equivalent to "Catch your hare before cooking it."

Running away through fear of a scorpion, he falls into the jaws of a poisonous snake! Avoiding Scylla, he falls into Charybdis. This nyâya comes in the *Nyâyavârtikatât Paryatîkâ.*

The maxim of *the ascent of a staircase.* Used of knowledge aimed at gradually, by easy steps. "Line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little, and there a little." This comes in *Bhâmatî* 1, 3, 8 (page 201).

The maxim of *the woodapple on the* (open palm of the) *hand.* Said of something unmistakably clear—"as plain as a pikestaff." It occurs in *Vârtika* 2, 1, 95.

Abundance of labor produces abundance of fruit: from great pains come great gains. Akin, presumably, to our "No gains without pains. It occurs in Vidyâranya's Vivaranaprameyasangraha, p. 247.

What has a seller of ginger to do with ships? Possibly the equivalent of "No cobbler beyond his last." It occurs in *Âtmatattvaviveka,* p. 62.

If Mithilâ should be in flames nothing of mine would be burnt up. This is the second line of a verse in *S'ântiparva,* chapter 179. It is used to indicate the freedom from anxiety of one who has nothing to lose; like Juvenal's "*Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator.*"

The Virginian.—A Horseman of the Plains. By Owen Wister, page 504. London—Macmillan & Co., 1902.

WHEN this book was first published, the sub-title of "A Tale of Sundry Adventures" was given to it. The author complains that certain newspapers thereupon made the mistake of taking it for an "historical novel:" he apparently wishes us to consider his work a romantic historical narrative, a distinction without very much difference it would appear, and accordingly has dropped his sub-title in the English edition.

Now Mr. Wister takes himself seriously, and we will therefore take the trouble of discovering, if possible, from his book what the ingredients of this sort of narrative may be; the work has been rather extravagantly praised by certain critics as a good example of the workman-like way in which the American author meets the demand of the reading public on the other side, and we may perhaps assume therefore that in our investigation we shall obtain some insight into what the demand of the moment is.

Our trans-Atlantic cousins appear to be able to dispense in the first place with *construction:* the novel [we may be permitted to use this short title perhaps in lieu of Mr. Wister's rather inflated description] is the worst constructed we have read these last ten years:—the incidents are thrown together anyhow, and there is a maddening digression in chapter v.

Chapters xiii to xvi comprise a short story distinct in itself,—this is the best thing in the book, which has, apparently, been written round it. Chapter vi is little short of a monumental digression, and evidently has previously appeared in the 'Lighter Vein' corner of some American monthly.

The author can have extremely little sense of the dramatic unities, as he should very obviously have concluded his book with chapter xxxv, which is very finely told indeed.

Chapter xxxvi is the worst anti-climax, we remember in fiction—the writer has not even taken the trouble to mention the "island" before.

Mr. Wister has no business to outrage the feelings of his readers with chapter xxx—it recalls the worst faults of Dickens—this chapter seems to owe its origin to a sketch that has previously appeared, and which the author thought so well of, that he dragged it in by the heels.

Mr. Wister could do very well if he liked—he can draw a strong and definite male character though he fails rather with his principal female one,—Molly,—and of all the irregularly-constructed books we know this is the most readable.

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